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[THIRD ANTIMASONIC STATE CONVENTION]

ANTIMASONIC

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

OF

MASSACHUSETTS,

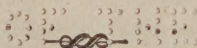
HELD AT WORCESTER, SEPT. 5th & 6th, 1832.

FOR THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTORS OF
PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND FOR GOVERNOR AND LT. GOVERNOR OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

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PROCEEDINGS, RESOLUTIONS, AND ADDRESS
TO THE PEOPLE.

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OFFICE OF THE
CLERK OF THE
COURT OF COMMONS

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

Worcester, Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1832.

THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THREE DELEGATES from ten counties, (elected in conformity to recommendations of an Antimasonic Convention of members of the Legislature, in March, 1832,) assembled this morning, at 10 o'clock, in the town hall at Worcester, to organize the ANTIMASONIC REPUBLICAN CONVENTION for this State.

The meeting was called to order by PLINY MERRICK of Worcester, and the following officers elected.

PLINY MERRICK of Worcester, *President*.

ABNER PHELPS of Suffolk, 1st *Vice President*.

JOSEPH RICKETSON of Bristol, 2d *Vice President*.

WM. B. BREED of Essex, 3d *Vice President*.

ELIPHALET KINGMAN of Plymouth, 4th *Vice President*.

WM. WHITAKER of Franklin, 5th *Vice President*.

BENJAMIN F. HALLETT of Boston, JOSHUA B. CLAPP of Springfield, JOHN BURRAGE of New Bedford, EDWARD KIRKLAND of Worcester, *Secretaries*.

The town hall being found not large enough to accommodate the Convention, on motion of Mr. BURBANK of Worcester, adjourned to the *First Congregational Meeting House*, which had been provided for the purpose.

Rev. Dr. BANCROFT of Worcester, who had been invited by the Convention to perform that service, offered prayers.

[*Committee on Honorary Members.*]

MESSRS. HALL of Suffolk, BURBANK of Worcester, BIGELOW of

Middlesex, and STEBBINS of Franklin, were appointed to report the names of gentlemen to be invited to take seats in the Convention as honorary members. This committee subsequently reported, and forty honorary members were invited to take seats, with the right to debate, but not to vote.

[*Committee on Elections.*]

On motion of Mr. BIGELOW of Middlesex,

Voted, That MESSRS. WALKER of Suffolk, BOWLER of Essex, MONROE of Middlesex, BRECK of Plymouth, BLAKE of Norfolk, PETERS of Worcester, RICHARDS of Hampshire, MILLER of Hampden, FISH of Bristol, and WHITNEY of Franklin, be a committee to prepare and report a list of Delegates entitled to seats in this Convention, designating the town and county to which each belongs.

The Rules and Regulations of the Philadelphia National Antimasonic Convention, were adopted, as the Rules of Proceeding in this Convention.

[*Masonic Declaration.*]

On motion of Mr. WALKER of Suffolk, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Whereas a committee of one hundred, was appointed at a Convention of Antimasonic members of the Legislature, in March last, to prepare and report a reply to the Declaration signed by about twelve hundred Freemasons of Boston and vicinity, purporting to deny *all* the allegations made against Freemasonry and Freemasons, for the past five years, without specifying *what* the allegations were;—And whereas, in preparing the reply, it seemed due to the public, instead of mere assertion, to present distinctly the most material allegations against Freemasonry, with the proofs on which they rested, so as to enable those who are capable of *thinking for themselves*, instead of *letting Freemasons think for them*; to arrive at conclusions best calculated to “establish truth and expose imposition,”—and it being apparent that this course would unavoidably embrace a wide range of remark, adapted rather to a disquisition than to a report, it was therefore, deemed advisable to refer the subject to this Convention, to take such proceeding thereon as may seem best fitted to bring this question, touching the facts alleged and denied, by Antimasons and Freemasons, fairly at issue before the public.

Wherefore, it is resolved by this Convention, that BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, chairman of the committee appointed by the Antimasonic Convention in March last, be appointed to deliver an Address in behalf of this Convention, in reply to the Declaration of the 1200 Masons; and that when this Convention ad-

journs, it will adjourn till half past 7 o'clock this evening, then to convene, for the purpose of hearing said Address.

Resolved, That our fellow citizens generally, and in an especial manner the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial officers of the Commonwealth, be respectfully requested to attend the sitting of the Convention, for the above purpose.

Resolved, That the ladies be invited to be present this evening, and that the committee provide seats for their accommodation.

Resolved, That the Worcester delegation be a committee to carry the above resolves into effect.

Adjourned till $2\frac{1}{2}$ P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

WEDNESDAY.

Communications regretting their inability to attend the Convention, as members, were read and referred to, from Rev. Dr. EMMONS of Franklin, Messrs. ODIORNE and JOHN D. WILLIAMS of Boston, JOHN BAILEY of Norfolk, EPAPHRAS HOYT of Deerfield, and others, who had accepted their appointment, but had been unable to attend.

[Committee on Electors.]

On motion of Mr. RICE of Worcester,

Resolved, That the Delegations from the several Congressional Districts, report to this Convention the names of suitable candidates from the several districts, to be nominated for Electors of President and Vice President of the United States.

On motion of Mr. JACKSON of Middlesex,

Voted, That the Chair nominate one from each Congressional District to officiate as chairman of the several delegations. Messrs. GASSETT of Suffolk, GARDNER of Worcester North, RICE of Worcester South, HARDY of Middlesex, CHURCHILL of Norfolk, NEWHALL of Essex South, REED of Bristol, LAZELL of Plymouth, TOBEY of Franklin, FORWARD of Hampshire, and BACON of Barnstable, were named and accepted.

On motion of Mr. PETERS of Worcester,

The chairmen of the above committees were instructed to report names for candidates for an Elector at large, and for the District not represented in this Convention.

[Committee on Governor and Lieutenant Governor.]

On motion of Mr. PETERS,

A committee of two from each county, were instructed to

report names of candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, viz. S. P. GARDNER and RICE of Worcester, WHITAKER and HASTINGS of Franklin, HOLLAND and PARSONS of Hampshire, HOAR and CLAPP of Hampden, TAYLOR and PIERCE of Norfolk, RUGGLES and WILLIAMS of Bristol, TURNER and KEITH of Plymouth, PHELPS and HALL of Suffolk, BUFFUM and MORGAN of Essex, HARDY and ADAMS of Middlesex, and BACON of Barnstable.

[Committees.]

On Finance. FRENCH of Suffolk, FOSTER of Norfolk, KING of Essex, MORGAN of Bristol, ALLEN of Plymouth, CLARK of Middlesex, HILL of Worcester, WHITNEY of Franklin, CAREY of Hampshire, and FLAGG of Hampden.

On an Address to the People. HALLETT of Suffolk, JACKSON of Middlesex, O. PETERS of Worcester, PHELPS of Hampden, MANN of Norfolk, BRECK of Plymouth, BREED of Essex, FORWARD of Hampshire, WHITAKER of Franklin, CONGDON of Bristol, and KNOX of Worcester.

On Resolutions. MERRICK of Worcester, WALKER of Suffolk, and BIGELOW of Middlesex.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention met at 7 o'clock, agreeably to adjournment, a large number of citizens and ladies being present, by invitation of the Convention. The President read the preamble and resolution, and explained the object of the meeting.

An Address was then delivered by BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, in reply to the Declaration of the 1200 Masons of Massachusetts. After which the Convention adjourned at a quarter past 9 o'clock.

Thursday Morning, Sept. 6.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock.

[Reply to the 1200.]

On motion of R. B. HALL of Suffolk,

Voted, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, for the very eloquent and conclusive Address, pronounced by him last evening, and that Messrs. HALL of Suffolk, LAZELL of Plymouth, and WILLIAMS of Bristol, communicate this resolution, and request a copy of the Address for publication.

Mr. HALL subsequently reported that the author of the Address had requested him to inform the Convention that it having been presented by their direction, it was subject to their disposal, in any manner which they might consider best calculated to advance the success of our cause.

On motion of Mr. R. B. HALL of Suffolk, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Whereas, in the reply to the Declaration of the 1200 Masons of Massachusetts, read to this Convention last evening, the following sentences occur, viz :

"The 1200 Masons of Massachusetts deny 'allegations,' but they do not specify the allegations. They profess to deny all the allegations made against Freemasonry within five years. Now we have pointed out some of the most prominent of these allegations, enough, if true, to condemn any institution under heaven. Will the Masons of Massachusetts meet us like men on these counts of the indictment of the people against them, or will they stand mute, and virtually plead guilty? It is not worth while to waste time upon considering minor 'allegations' until these are first fairly disposed of. The only way to do this is to show either that, although they are true they are not 'at variance with the fundamental principles of morality, nor incompatible with the duty of a good and faithful citizen;' or to prove distinctly, that they are unfounded and false. The very attempt to sustain the *first* position, would of itself evince an utter destitution of moral perception, of right and wrong. If they will maintain the *latter*, we will try the issue in any form that can be proposed, fairly 'to establish *truth* and expose *imposition*.'

"To test the truth of these allegations, or the most material part of them, we tender to the twelve hundred signers of the Declaration, or to any or all of the Masonic bodies in this State, their grand officers, lecturers, orators, or committees, a trial by jury, or a trial by the Legislature on the question whether their charters ought not to be declared void. If they will appoint a committee on their part, this Convention shall do so on theirs. Our committee shall assert the allegations against Freemasonry, specified in this Address, to be *true*, under their signatures. The Masonic committee, if they dare, may deny them under their signatures, charging the Antimasonic committee personally, with alleging falsehood, so as to bring the case within the law of libel, the *truth* to be given in evidence as a justification. The committee on the part of this Convention, thus charged with falsehood, shall commence an action of libel against the Masonic committee, and this will bring the question fairly before our courts of law. Each party can have compulsory process to produce testimony, and the truth must be developed.

"Can any thing be fairer than this, 'to establish truth and expose imposition?' And if our opponents shrink from the test, will a discerning public place any reliance upon their unequivocal denials? It is vain, and worse than in vain, for them to hope to deceive an intelligent people by unequivocal denials, which they dare not meet in a fair trial by the legal tribunals of the State. If they shrink from, or fail in this trial, we will then continue to try Freemasonry, as we are now trying it—by public opinion, the press, and the ballot box, and they may rest assured, that sooner or later it will be weighed in the balance, and found wanting."

Therefore, *Voted*, That the State committee be a committee to act as the representatives of the Antimasonic Republican Convention, in asserting and pledging themselves to sustain the truth of the allegations against the Masonic institution, contained in the reply above referred to, in the manner therein proposed.

[*State Antimasonic Committee.*]

Mr. SHEPARD of Norfolk, offered the following—

Resolved, That the unwearied, indefatigable and disinterested exertions of the State Antimasonic Committee, merit our warmest thanks, and that they be requested to continue their services until another committee is appointed.

Dr. A. PHELPS of Suffolk, submitted to the Convention, whether it was not desirable to excuse this committee and appoint another. They none of them shrunk from the performance of the painful and arduous duties which devolved upon such a committee, and were still ready to give their whole energies to the work, if the Convention considered it the best for the cause. If, on the other hand, that cause could be better promoted by changing the committee, they would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to retire, and give place to more efficient men. He was happy to add, that the astonishing change of public sentiment which had now taken place, had made the duties of such a committee much less painful than at first.

Mr. WILLIAM JACKSON of Middlesex, said he could not let this resolution pass, without an expression of his sense of the services, and great sacrifices, not only of pecuniary, but of personal considerations, made by this committee. It was but a short time since, that he himself regarded their movements with jealousy, as well as the movements generally of the Antimasonic party, and he owed it as a just atonement to that committee to declare thus publicly, that the information they had been the means of diffusing, and the persevering course which they had pursued, had brought his mind to a full conviction of the dangerous and fatal tendency of the Institution we were striving to abolish; and had satisfied him that no course was left, to effect that object, an object of absorbing importance in the reform of our civil and social institutions, but the means adopted by the Antimasonic party, and which had been so materially advanced by the untiring exertions of the State Antimasonic Committee. Gentlemen could have but little conception now of the insults, reproaches, and sacrifices, to which this committee were exposed, in the commencement of this work. We had, even now, almost forgotten that in the beginning it required a moral courage to confront this institution, more unyielding than the physical courage necessary to achieve a victory in battle. The world would not believe it, we should scarcely believe it ourselves, a few years hence, when our cause would have become the cause of the whole country. He hoped therefore, that this committee would not decline, but would continue their services.

Dr. PHELPS of Suffolk, chairman of the State committee, said he could not let this gratifying expression of the good opinion of this body, pass, without a brief acknowledgment in behalf of the committee. It amply repaid him, and he was sure it would them, for all the labor, and inconvenience, and expense, and reproach, to which they had been exposed in the conscientious discharge of what they believed to be a high and solemn duty. It was painful at first, to meet the averted faces, to hear the bitter denunciations, of men with whom members of this committee had once been on terms of friendship; but instead of deterring them from their course, the more they had seen and felt of this malignant spirit of Freemasonry, the more determined and zealous it had made them, in a cause which they knew to be the cause of *truth* and *equal rights* among citizens. Gentlemen could not now fully realize the sacrifices of personal feeling, of long cherished friendships of business and of reputation, (so far as calumny could injure where truth could not reach,) to which those were exposed who were among the first to meet the indignation of the Masonic institution in this State. He hoped they never would have occasion to realize it. That feeling still existed, but its asperity was diminished, or concealed, and men had begun to be ashamed of exhibiting it in public, or to carry it into private intercourse. The com-

mittee were conscious of having done their duty, to the best of their abilities, and with honest intentions. They were now more than repaid, in the free and generous approbation accorded to their humble efforts in this great cause.

The resolution was further discussed, and unanimously adopted, with the addition to the former committee of BENJAMIN F. HALLETT and DAVID TILDEN of Boston. The committee are,

ABNER PHELPS, JOHN D. WILLIAMS, GEORGE ODIORNE, HENRY GASSETT, BENJAMIN W. LAMB, THOMAS WALLEY, JONATHAN FRENCH, WILLIAM MARSTON, DANIEL WELD, JACOB HALL, BENJAMIN V. FRENCH, JOHN P. WHITWELL, BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, DAVID TILDEN.

[*The Press.*]

Mr. BRIGHAM of Worcester, offered the following—

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Antimasonic Republican party, generally, the patronage of such newspapers only, whose columns are open to a free discussion of the subject of Freemasonry.

Mr. WALKER of Suffolk, advocated the resolution. He thought that of all causes upon which the evils growing out of Freemasonry, and the difficulties that had been experienced in exposing its impositions, and utterly extirpating it, were chargeable, the *press* was most culpable. Not only had it refused to publish *truths* to condemn, but it had been most zealous in publishing *falsehoods* and calumnies and *threats* to uphold this wicked Institution. Such conduct ought to be visited upon those guilty of it, by a people determined to have the press free. We had been driven to establish presses of our own, and we ought to make it the first and primary duty, in our dealings connected with all newspapers, to support the Antimasonic press, the only free press in this country. There could be no neutral presses on this question. Silence in the glare of the light now diffused over society, was so far a participation in the culpability of those who still uphold this dangerous combination. He wanted no papers that were slaves to any power under heaven, and no paper should grace his counting room, that was not as free to speak of Freemasonry as any other subject connected with the rights of the citizen.

Mr. HALLETT of Suffolk, approved of the spirit of the resolution, but as an individual, immediately connected with the press, he should prefer divesting it of its exclusive character. He would not adopt any course that would imply a restriction upon the right of an Antimason to read any thing he pleases, or to take any paper he pleases. Free discussion is our aim and object, and it is the part of a wise general to understand the movements of his enemies, in order to be able to meet and counteract them. Antimasonic argument always grows stronger after Masonic argument has attempted to refute it, and the very virulence and bitterness of Masonic presses, against our most eminent Antimasonic fellow-citizens, have had a most salutary effect, in convincing the world of the true spirit of the Institution. He believed, therefore, that many Antimasons had been made such by reading Masonic papers. For his own part, he was wholly indebted to Masonic books for his Antimasonry. He became an Antimason by studying Masonic Monitors and Minstrels, and Orations, long before he read Morgan, Bernard, or Allyn.

The press however, which caused this result, so opposite to its intentions, deserved no credit for it, but it was one of the uses which the advocates of a sound cause could always make of the bad arguments of their opponents.

Although, therefore, he would leave every Antimason to take such paper as he pleased, it was obvious that he ought first to sustain the Antimasonic presses. If he could take but *one* paper, it should be an Antimasonic paper. Unless this course was pursued, our opponents, who are exclusive in their patronage, would silence our presses; for they must look mainly, if not solely, to Antimasons for support. Provided, therefore, our own magazine is well filled, and our own batteries well manned and supplied, we care not how much of the surplus is given to the enemy. The more he attacked, in the first onset, the better we defended, and now that the tables are turned, the more he defends, the more effective will be our attacks, and the sooner we shall compel him to strike. With the understanding, therefore, that it was the *first duty* of every Antimasonic reader of a newspaper to support an Antimasonic press, he moved to amend the resolution so as to read,

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Antimasonic Republican party, generally, the patronage of those newspapers, whose columns are open to a free discussion of the subject of Freemasonry.

Mr. RUGGLES of Bristol, was in favor of this amendment, and objected to confining any man exclusively to any class of newspapers. The supporters of the Masonic institution had taken care to make it indispensable to Antimasons to take some Masonic newspaper. The judges of Probate, &c. who favored Masonry, would not allow an Antimason to put his notices relating to estates, &c. in an Antimasonic paper, but he must go to a Masonic paper, as all others must do, who wanted this kind of information. He did not think it would always be so, and this very exclusiveness practiced by those who had directions of these kind of notices, showed the importance of enforcing our principles, until we establish an equality as to public favor, between those presses that oppose, and those that advocate Antimasonry. Besides, if we did not take Masonic papers, we should lose a great deal of valuable information. He took six Antimasonic newspapers, but he should never have found in them all, the important intelligence which he learned from Masonic papers, that William Morgan took passage in a vessel from Warren, R. I. bound to New Orleans, and that he was now in Mexico, painting coaches!

Mr. HARDY of Middlesex, and Mr. RUSSELL of Middlesex, were in favor of the amendment.

Mr. SIMONDS of Suffolk, said he had found some difficulty in regard to Probate notices, and he thought the public ought to understand this matter. He was aware that judges and clerks of courts, who were Masons, made it a point to exclude Antimasonic papers from the patronage of persons doing business there. If this was discretionary with the court, as he supposed it was, it ought to be understood. Let every Antimason demand as a right, the publication of his notices in the paper he likes best, and if it is refused, let him make it known to the public, and eventually there will be a remedy applied through the Legislature. On one occasion he had applied to have a notice inserted in the Boston Daily Advocate. The judge was astonished to hear there was such a paper in existence, though it has as large a circulation as some older papers. He however, finally consented to have the notice go in that paper. Mr. S. protested against Antimasons being compelled by courts to pay for newspapers whose principles they condemn.

Mr. WILLIAM JACKSON of Middlesex, thought this discussion ought not to pass by, without impressing upon the mind of every one, the importance of sustaining the Antimasonic press. That was the great light of our cause, and if we let our enemies put it out, or suffered it to go out ourselves, we should again be involved in Masonic darkness. The facts alluded to here, showed the importance of rallying around that press, wherever it is properly conducted. Official patronage is against it, and it can only be sustained by the *people*, the *Antimasonic people*. Many individuals had made sacrifices, and invested funds, with no expectation or wish of remuneration, to enable

an independent press to avow its opposition to Freemasonry. Such a press must be sustained, or our cause cannot be sustained. We ought here, to resolve, and to induce all who think with us, to resolve, *to make it a matter of conscience, to support the Antimasonic press*, and to feel individually bound to extend to it, wherever we can, all the aid in our power.

The resolution was amended, and in that form passed unanimously.

[*Candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor.*]

Mr. GARDNER of Worcester, made a report from the committee on the nomination of candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, which, after being amended, recommended that the Convention do proceed at 11 o'clock this day, to ballot separately for said candidates, without a previous nomination being made, two thirds of the votes given in, to be necessary to constitute a choice. Adopted.

At 12 o'clock the Convention proceeded to ballot for candidates for Governor.

On motion of Mr. SIMONDS of Suffolk, WALKER and MORTON of Suffolk, BOWMAN of Middlesex, ROBINSON of Essex, and FISKE of Worcester, were appointed a committee to collect, sort, and count the votes, for candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

The ballots having been collected and counted for the first named candidate, the President announced to the Convention that the

Whole number of votes was 253

Necessary to a choice, 169

That SAMUEL LATHROP of West Springfield, has 238, and is nominated.

The ballots having been collected and counted, for a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, the President announced that the

Whole number of votes was 232

Necessary to a choice, 155

That TIMOTHY FULLER of Cambridge, has 225, and is nominated.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—*Thursday.*

The Convention met at half past 2 o'clock.

[*Electors.*]

The committees from the several Districts, made their separate reports recommending the name of a candidate for Elector, in their respective Districts, which were laid on the table.

The President of the Convention, from the committee on

that subject, made a report, recommending JOHN D. WILLIAMS of Boston, to be supported for candidate for Elector at large, and referring the selection of a candidate for Berkshire District, to the Convention. Accepted.

On motion of Mr. FORWARD of Hampshire,

Voted, That the State committee be empowered to fill the vacancy in the ticket for Electors of President and Vice President, by selecting, from the citizens of Berkshire District, a candidate of known principles.

On motion of Mr. FISKE of Worcester,

The reports of the several committees nominating Electors, were taken up, separately considered, and agreed to, except the Report of the committee for Essex District, which was withdrawn, by the chairman, amended by the committee, and, together with the other reports, unanimously accepted.

On motion of Mr. BRECK of Plymouth,

Resolved, That the State Committee communicate to the several gentlemen who have been nominated as Candidates for Electors of President and Vice President, their nomination for that purpose, and that if chosen, they are expected to give their votes to WILLIAM WIRT for President, and AMOS ELLMAKER for Vice President of the United States. And in case any candidate for Elector shall decline accepting this nomination, the State Committee are hereby empowered to fill such vacancy.

[*Death of Hon. William H. Maynard.*]

MR. HALLETT of Suffolk, called the attention and sympathies of the Convention, to a melancholy event, intelligence of which had been received during the sitting of the Convention. He alluded to the sudden death, while in discharge of his duties as a Senator, of the Hon. Mr. MAYNARD of New York, a man who was an honor to any cause with which his name might be associated, and who was emphatically an honor and an ornament to the Antimasonic cause. That cause was confined to no State, but embraced the whole Union, and hence the death of a distinguished and useful advocate of that cause, in any section of the country, must be felt as a loss to the whole country. Nor was the death of Mr. MAYNARD a loss only to our party. In these times, when honesty and firmness of purpose, are so rarely found united to great talents, commanding abilities and high station, it was refreshing to contemplate the character of such a man as WILLIAM H. MAYNARD while living, and it was a melancholy pleasure to pay a just tribute to his memory when dead. He therefore felt assured that he should carry with him the sympathies of this Convention, in offering the following:

Resolved, That this Convention have heard, during its sitting, with sentiments of the deepest regret, of the death of Hon. WILLIAM H. MAYNARD, a Senator of the State of New York, a native of this State, and one of the firmest, earliest, most able, and most distinguished advocates of the cause of equal rights and the supremacy of the laws, for which we are contending; and that we deem the death of such a citizen, in the present exigencies of the country, a public loss.

The resolution passed unanimously.

[*Report on Resolutions.*]

Mr. WALKER of Suffolk, from the committee on resolutions, reported sundry general resolutions, which, on motion of Mr. CHURCHILL of Norfolk, were considered separately, and after some discussion thereon, upon motion of the same, were recommended to the same committee to report them in a new draft.

Resolutions were offered by Mr. FRENCH of Bristol, and Mr. HALLETT of Suffolk, and referred to the committee on Resolutions. The chairman of the committee on Resolutions, subsequently reported the substance of the resolutions, as agreed upon by the Convention, which, after remarks from several members in their support, were unanimously adopted.

The resolution concurring in the nominations of WILLIAM WIRT and AMOS ELLMAKER, was advocated by PLINY MERRICK, AMASA WALKER, and B. F. HALLETT. The resolutions follow.

[*General Resolutions.*]

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the rites, ceremonies, mysteries, principles, and obligations of *Freemasonry*, have been disclosed; that these principles may now be thoroughly known and understood by all who will faithfully inquire for themselves; that these disclosures clearly demonstrate the Institution to be false in its boastful pretensions to antiquity and science, selfish in its objects, dangerous in its character, and in all respects unworthy to be permitted longer to exist among us; that it ought to be opposed with the single purpose of its utter extirpation; that in doing so, no political alliance ought to be formed with any men, party, or set of men who support it; that we will continue to oppose it at the ballot box, and charge our children and our children's children to oppose it, until our country shall be freed from the dishonor and danger of its existence.

Resolved, That in the present crisis of public affairs, the vigorous energies, the sound principles, the weight of personal and political influence of every citizen who values his country above considerations of personal parties, ought to be exerted in preserving the purity of our republican institutions.

Resolved, That a majority of the men who have been most honored by the suffrages of the people, and to whom the people have a right to look for a decisive action upon all questions affecting the fundamental principles of our government, are *culpable* for the neutral position which they profess to maintain on the question of Masonry and Antimasonry; when by this course, their influence is thrown into the scale of that obnoxious institution.

Resolved, That when this question already forms the distinguishing principle upon which 300,000 of our fellow citizens

exercise the elective franchise, it is in vain for men, however eminent, to expect to *evade* it, or to *merge* it in other political parties or measures, by affecting to regard it as not sufficiently important to engage their attention as statesmen.

Resolved, therefore, That it is the duty of such men thoroughly to examine the principles of Antimasonry, and to support those principles if they shall find them worthy to be sustained and adopted as national principles, or to oppose them directly and openly so as to relieve the country from the further agitation of this question, if they shall find those principles to be adverse to our republican institutions, and of dangerous tendency.

Resolved, That the Convention hold it to be an object of primary importance in the approaching election, that the people of the United States should place in the Chief Executive chair, a citizen who will not, individually or officially, give his support and countenance to the Institution of Freemasonry ; an institution, in its nature, hostile to free government, injurious to religion and morality, chargeable with actual violation of the highest social and political duties, and threatening still greater mischiefs in future to our country and its liberties, while it does not possess one quality, which, by its beneficial operation, can redeem it from the merited reprehension of every intelligent and patriotic citizen.

Resolved, That, in accordance with a numerous party in the country, who do not adopt, or do not publicly avow the opinions expressed in the preceding resolutions, we hold that the re-election of the present chief magistrate of the Union would be highly injurious to the best interests of the republic ; that he has proved himself eminently disqualified for the high station, by his want of knowledge and experience, by his violent temper, and by the weakness and decays of age ; and that his administration has been marked by gross errors both in theory and practice.

Resolved, That the candidate presented by the National Republican party, is one whom we *cannot* support, without yielding our most distinguishing principle ; while the candidate presented by the Antimasonic Republican party, is a citizen of sound national principles, and most distinguished for his integrity, his patriotism, his accomplishments, and his private virtues.

Resolved, That under these circumstances, we leave it to an impartial public to decide, on whom would justly rest the charge of obstinacy, in the event of a failure to defeat the re-election of the present incumbent ; whether on that party who will not yield their *personal* favorite for the sake of securing the triumph of all their *avowed* principles, or on that who have selected

and still adhere to their candidate for the sake of their principles.

Resolved, That one of the disastrous signs of the times is, a pertinacious adherence to names and persons, at the imminent hazard of vital principles; and that we call on every honest and independent voter to throw off the shackles of a merely *personal party*, and to come forth disenthralled, in the faithful support of those principles, which alone can ensure the perpetuity and prosperity of our republican institutions.

Resolved, That in support of these principles, we cordially unite with the National Convention which assembled in Baltimore, in September last, in recommending to the good people of this Commonwealth,

WILLIAM WIRT of Maryland, for President,

AMOS ELLMAKER of Pennsylvania, for Vice President,

as citizens, whose talents, experience, integrity, and patriotism, are eminently worthy of the suffrages of a free people; and that we farther recommend to them to vote, on the second Monday of November next, for the following persons to be electors of President and Vice President, in the full confidence that, if chosen, they will give their votes for WILLIAM WIRT and AMOS ELLMAKER.

[*For Electors.*]

JOHN D. WILLIAMS of Boston, at large.

Suffolk District—JACOB HALL of Boston.

Norfolk District—JOHN BAILEY of Dorchester.

Bristol District—JOSEPH RICKETSON of New Bedford.

Essex South District—WILLIAM B. BREED of Lynn.

Essex North District—THOMAS PAYSON of Rowley.

Middlesex District—BENJAMIN WYMAN of Woburn.

Hampden District—JOHN CHAFFEE of Springfield.

Franklin District—ASA STEBBINS of Deerfield.

Barnstable District—BENJAMIN HALLETT of Barnstable.

Plymouth District—ZACHARIAH EDDY of Middleborough.

Worcester South District—PLINY MERRICK of Worcester.

Worcester North District—STEPHEN P. GARDNER of Bolton.

[One vacancy in Berkshire District, to be filled by the State Committee, by the selection of a candidate of known principles.]

Resolved, unanimously, That SAMUEL LATHROP of West Springfield, be nominated by this Convention, and recommended to the citizens of this State, at the election on the second Monday in November next, for *Governor*;

And that TIMOTHY FULLER of Cambridge, be also unanimously nominated, and recommended to the citizens, for the office of *Lieutenant Governor*.

Resolved, unanimously, That we will use all fair and honorable means, in our power, to promote the election of the above named candidates, and of the candidates for Electors, nominated by this Convention.

[*Miscellaneous Resolutions.*]

On motion of Mr. FRENCH of Suffolk,

Voted, That CLOUGH of Suffolk, RICE and LUTHER of Worcester, be a committee to publish and circulate the letter of Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, to the State Antimasonic Committee.

On motion of Dr. PHELPS of Suffolk,

Resolved, That we place entire confidence in the integrity and firmness of our Antimasonic friends and fellow citizens, in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and every other State; and that their candidates for Electors of President and Vice President, in those States, will, if chosen, give their votes for the Antimasonic candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

On motion of Mr. HALLETT of Suffolk,

Resolved, That the untiring perseverance and the undeviating principles of the "INFLEXIBLE MINORITY" of Antimasonic Republicans, in our sister State of Rhode Island, meet our warmest approbation and sympathy, and that we rejoice at the diffusion of truth, the important developements on the subject of Freemasonry, the manly resistance of all attempts to strangle the press, and the firmness and consistency of political Antimasonry, for which we are indebted to our Antimasonic fellow citizens of that State.

[*Finance.*]

The report of the State Finance Committee was read and accepted; the accounts of the Treasurer, having been audited, at his request, by a committee.

The Convention proceeded to make choice of a Treasurer, and BENJAMIN V. FRENCH of Boston, was chosen.

On motion of Mr. LAZELL of Plymouth,

Voted, That the State Committee be requested to receive from the Committee on Finance, the amount of money in their possession, and to appropriate the same for the publication of the proceedings of this Convention, and for such other purposes as they may deem expedient for the promotion of the principles which brought this Convention together.

[*Resolutions of Thanks.*]

On motion of Mr. WALKER of Suffolk,

Voted, That one of the Secretaries communicate to the Rev. Dr. BANCROFT, the thanks of this Convention, for his services as chaplain to this body.

The chairman of the committee on that subject, reported an ADDRESS to the people of this Commonwealth, which was read, unanimously adopted as the sense of this Convention, and ordered to be published, with the names of the members of the Convention attached.

On motion of Mr. GREENE of Suffolk,

Voted, That the thanks of this Body be given to the Worcester Delegation, for the very prompt and convenient manner in which they have provided for the accommodations of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. MORGAN of New Bedford,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Municipal Authorities of the town of Worcester, for their courtesy in presenting the use of the town hall for the accommodation of the Convention.

Resolved, also, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Assessors and Members of the first Congregational society in Worcester, for the gratuitous use generously granted, of their house of public worship, for the meetings of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. RUGGLES of Bristol,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to PLINY MERRICK for the able and impartial manner in which he has presided over this Convention.

The President replied in an appropriate manner.

On motion, the thanks of the Convention were also given to the Vice Presidents and Secretaries, for the discharge of their duties.

CORRESPONDENCE.

On motion of Mr. RICE of Worcester,

Voted, That the letter addressed to the President of this Convention, by the Rev. Dr. NATHANIEL EMMONS of Franklin, be published among the proceedings of this Convention.

Voted, That RICE of Northborough, BLAKE of Worcester, and GREENE of Boston, be a committee to communicate to Dr. EMMONS the respectful considerations of this Convention for the moral influence which the frank expression of his opinions, is calculated to give to our cause.

Mr. GREENE of Suffolk, read a communication from gentlemen of Lunenburg, which was referred to the State Committee.

Mr. HALLETT of Suffolk, read a letter from JAMES MADISON, the authentic correspondence between General WASHINGTON and

Rev. Mr. SNYDER, and extracts from records of King David's Lodge, Rhode Island; all of which were referred to the Publishing Committee.

[*Letter from Rev. Dr. Emmons.*]

To the President of the State Antimasonic Convention, now convened at Worcester.

SIR,—I have no doubt but many great and good men, whom I highly respect and esteem, have belonged, and do now belong, to the Masonic fraternity; but I am convinced by the highest and most irresistible moral evidence, that the Masonic Institution itself, is the *darkest and deepest plot that ever was formed in this wicked world against the true God, the true religion, and the temporal and eternal interests of mankind.*

Nothing, therefore, but my protracted age, and other uncontrollable circumstances, could have prevented my meeting with the numerous, honorable, patriotic Antimasonic Convention of Massachusetts, and uniting with them in their noble and benevolent efforts to counteract the influence, and destroy the existence of Freemasonry in this our beloved country.

And now I deem it my duty, as one of the most aged clergymen living, who united in their best exertions to bring about our national independence and freedom, humbly and solemnly to exhort my younger brethren in the ministry, to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free; to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and to fulfil their solemn and sacred vows to defend the gospel against all the delusion, hypocrisy, and infidelity of the open and secret enemies of the blessed Redeemer. And it is my sincere desire and prayer, that God would graciously grant his guidance and blessing to his servants who are convened to promote his glory, the prosperity of Zion, and the best interests of our yet free and happy nation.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your humble servant,

NATHANIEL EMMONS.

Franklin, Sept. 3, 1832.

[*Letter from James Madison.*]

[Mr. HALLETT of Suffolk, said he would avail himself of an interval in the proceedings of the Convention, to present some documents that could not fail to interest them. Masonry had propped herself up by claiming great men as her votaries; and though a great many great men, like Dr. Franklin, had in their youth been *great fools* in this respect, yet the Institution, with her usual arrogance, had claimed a great many more than ever belonged to her. Thus it has been repeatedly asserted by Masons, that all the Presidents of the United States, except two, were Masons.

MOSES RICHARDSON, Treasurer of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, positively *swore*, under *civil oath*, in the Rhode Island investigation, that "*all the Presidents of the United States except two*," [the two Adamsses,] "*were Masons!*" The Rev. BERNARD WHIT-

MAN of Waltham, in his Address at the Dedication of the Masonic Temple in Boston, last June, made the same assertion on his own individual authority. It accordingly goes out to the world that JAMES MADISON, among other of the ex-Presidents, was a member and approver of the Masonic Institution. A private individual, without consulting any one, took occasion to write to Mr. Madison, some time ago, inquiring of him if he was a Mason, and forwarding to him the letters of Rush, Wirt and Adams. The brief reply of the venerable ex-President, has been placed in my hands recently, and I take this opportunity to present it to the public through this Convention. It will nail one more Masonic falsehood to the counter.]

Montpelier, January 24, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—I received long ago your interesting favor of the 31st October, with the pamphlet referred to, and I owe an apology for not sooner acknowledging it. I hope it will be a satisfactory one, that the state of my health, crippled by a severe rheumatism, restricted my attention to what seemed to have immediate claims upon it; and in that light I did not view the subject of your communication; ignorant as I was of the true character of Masonry, and little informed as I was of the grounds on which its extermination was contended for; and incapable as I was and am, in my situation, of investigating the controversy.

I never was a Mason, and no one, perhaps, could be more a stranger to the principles, rites and fruits of the Institution. I *had* never regarded it as dangerous or noxious; nor on the other hand as deriving importance from any thing publicly known of it. FROM THE NUMBER AND CHARACTER OF THOSE WHO NOW SUPPORT THE CHARGES AGAINST MASONRY, I CANNOT DOUBT THAT IT IS, AT LEAST, SUSCEPTIBLE OF ABUSES, OUTWEIGHING ANY ADVANTAGES PROMISED BY ITS PATRONS. With this apologetic explanation, I tender you, Sir, my respectful and cordial salutations.

JAMES MADISON.

[This letter, Mr. HALLETT proceeded to remark, though brief, was *emphatic*. It showed the monstrous dereliction of the press in this country, which had left a man like JAMES MADISON, entirely in darkness as to the existence of the Masonic conspiracy against a free citizen, until he casually heard of it *five* years after it happened, from a stranger. It showed too, the impression the first flash of truth produced on the mind of this eminent man, in his calm retirement from the world. HE does not sneer at Antimasons, but admits at once, that from the character of those who support the charges against Masonry, he cannot doubt that it is at least susceptible of abuses outweighing any advantages *promised* by its patrons! Yes; outweighing all its great pretensions of *charity, brotherly love, science, antiquity and sublime devotion*! Such is the opinion of JAMES MADISON, whom the Orator of the Dedication profanely brought forward, as one of the pillars to support the tottering edifice he was consecrating to the Spirit of evil!]

[*Washington's connection with Masonry.*]

[Mr. HALLETT said, that having disposed of this false assertion of Masonry, he would now put at rest another, and a much more impudent falsehood, upon which Freemasonry had plumed herself more than upon any

single point in her defence against the charges with which *truth* was overwhelming her. It was the assertion that *General Washington was a devoted Freemason ; a presiding Master of Lodges, and GRAND MASTER OF MASONS, in North America, or some where else.*

For fear that Masonry will deny she ever claimed WASHINGTON as a Grand Master, after the proofs I shall now produce, said Mr. H., I will first show what pretensions Freemasonry has made to the Father of his country.

In March, 1830, ANDREW JACKSON, President of the United States, in reply to an invitation from a body of Freemasons, to make a *pilgrimage* to the Tomb of brother WASHINGTON, said,

"The memory of that ILLUSTRIOUS GRAND MASTER (Washington) cannot receive a more appropriate honor, than that which *religion and Masonry pay it, when they send their votaries to his tomb, fresh from the performance of acts which they consecrate.*"

The American edition of Preston's Masonry, asserts "that the Society of Freemasons in America, continued to flourish, *under the auspices of General Washington, who continued his patronage to the Lodges, till his death.*" Page 242.

At the funeral obsequies "of the illustrious brother WASHINGTON," solemnized by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Feb. 11, 1800, "a Masonic dirge, written by the Rev. Brother HARRIS, (now Dr. Harris of Dorchester,) was sung by brother EATON and the choir."

In that dirge is the following verse—

"Come then, the mystic rites no more delay,
Deep silence reigns, the tapers dimly burn,
Wisdom and fortitude the requiem pay,
And beauty strews fresh garlands round the urn.
A Mason,—brother ; A GRAND MASTER dies !
The *acacia* sprig designates where he lies."

On the same occasion "the Honorable Brother TIMOTHY BIGELOW," pronounced a Masonic Eulogy upon WASHINGTON. In that eulogy are the following, among other equally untrue assertions:

"He (Washington) cultivated our art with *sedulous attention*, and never lost an opportunity of advancing the interest, or promoting the honor of the *Craft.*"

"He found *frequent opportunities to visit the Lodge*, and thought it no derogation from his dignity there to stand on a level with the brethren."

"The information received from our brethren who had the happiness to be members of the Lodge *over which he presided many years, and of which he died the Master*, furnishes abundant proof of his persevering zeal for the prosperity of the Institution."

"*Constant and punctual in his attendance, scrupulous in his observance of the regulations of the Lodge*, and solicitous at all times to communicate light and instruction, he discharged the duties of the Chair with uncommon *dignity and intelligence in all the mysteries of our art.*"

"We see before us the very attire, which *he often wore as a Mason.*"

Such are the declarations of Hon. TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

In 1830, a pamphlet was published in the City of Boston, by Freemasons, entitled, "the Masonic character and correspondence of General WASHINGTON." Among other assertions in that publication, are these:

"WASHINGTON died while holding one of the most responsible offices in the gift of his brethren, and while a member of the Grand Lodge of his own State."

"He was borne to the grave, by Brethren of the Lodge of which he had previously been Master."

"At the time of his death, Gen. WASHINGTON was Master of Alexandria Lodge."

"*He presided over the Grand Lodge of his native State ; he encouraged the organization of a Lodge in his own army, at the meetings of which he was often present, and in which he often officiated.*"

General TALMADGE, a distinguished citizen of New York, asserted in a letter which he wrote last winter to a Committee of Antimasons, that "*Washington had often presided in Poughkeepsie Lodge.*"

Masonic newspapers have been full of similar claims upon WASHINGTON. The Providence Journal, for instance, in June, 1831, said,

"WASHINGTON held the highest offices in the Lodge."

Such is Masonic assertion, made under the most solemn circumstances, and published to the world, on the authority of men whose veracity on other subjects, was never called in question.

Now then, said Mr. H. let us confront this Masonic Falsehood, as we have every other pretence it has set up, by Masonry itself. I hold in my hand a certified extract from the Records of King David's Lodge, in Newport, Rhode Island. The authenticity of these records is thus proved. In 1812, a difficulty arose between the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island and Dr. BENJAMIN W. CASE, then Master of St. John's Lodge, in Newport, the successor of King David's Lodge. Dr. CASE was set aside upon some sovereign pretence of the Grand Lodge, which the civil tribunals, as a matter of course, confirmed in several lawsuits that followed. In one of these lawsuits, Judge PITMAN of the United States District Court for Rhode Island, who was appointed sole referee, gave an opinion at length, in favor of the Grand Lodge. That opinion, though written, he has ever since concealed from the public, and the party against whom it was given, have been wholly unable to procure a copy of it, on which to found further proceedings.

One of the suits was an action of trover, by the new St. John's Lodge, against Dr. CASE and his Masons, who claimed to be old St. John's Lodge, and held the records, regalia, &c. In this action the records were proved to be the original records, and Dr. CASE was ordered by the Court to restore them to the new St. John's Lodge or pay \$300 damages. He paid the damages and kept the records, and has since seceded from Masonry. The judicial proceedings of the Courts of Rhode Island, therefore, establish the authenticity of the records, from which the following extract is taken:

[*Extract from the Records of King David's Lodge.*]

"Regular Lodge night, held at the house of Mr. James Tew, Wednesday evening, the 7th February, 1781. 5781.

"A motion being made that as our worthy brother, his Excellency General WASHINGTON, was daily expected amongst us, a committee should be appointed to prepare an address in behalf of the Lodge, to present him. Voted, That the Right Worshipful Master, together with brothers Seixas, Peleg Clark, John Handy, and Robert Elliot, be a committee for that purpose, and that they present the same to this Lodge at their next meeting for their approbation."

"At a Lodge held by request of the Right Worshipful Master, Feb. 14th, 1781, 5781,

"The committee appointed to draught an address to our worthy brother, His Excellency General WASHINGTON, report, that on inquiry they find General Washington not to be Grand Master of North America; as was supposed, nor even Master of any particular Lodge. They are, therefore, of opinion that this Lodge would not choose to address him as a private brother—at the same time, think it would not be agreeable to our worthy brother to be addressed AS SUCH.

"*Voted*, That the report of the committee be received, and that the address be entirely laid aside for the present."

"At a Lodge called by request of several brethren, on Tuesday evening, the 17th Aug. 5790.

"(26 brethren present.)

"An Entered Apprentice's Lodge being opened in due form proceeded to business, when it was proposed to address the President of the United States. The R. W. Master, (Moses Seixas,) Henry Sherburne, and the secretary, (William Littlefield,) were appointed a committee for that purpose."

[Then immediately on the record follow the two subjoined letters, viz.]

"To George Washington, President of the United States of America.

"We, the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island, joyfully embrace this opportunity to greet you as a brother, and to hail you welcome to Rhode Island.

"We exult in the thought, that as Masonry has always been patronized by the wise, the good, and the great, so hath it stood, and ever will stand, as its fixtures are on the immutable pillars of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

"With unspeakable pleasure we gratulate you as filling the Presidential Chair, with the applause of a numerous and enlightened people: whilst, at the same time, we felicitate ourselves in the honor done the brotherhood, by your many exemplary virtues, and emanations of goodness proceeding from a heart worthy of possessing the ancient mysteries of our craft; being persuaded that the wisdom and grace with which heaven has endowed you, will ever square all your thoughts, words, and actions, by the eternal laws of honor, equity, and truth, so as to promote the advancement of all good works, your own happiness, and that of mankind.

"Permit us then, illustrious brother, cordially to salute you, with three times three, and to add our fervent supplications that the Sovereign Architect of the universe may always encompass you with his holy protection.

"MOSES SEIXAS, Master, } Committee.
"HENRY SHERBURNE, }

"By order,

"WM. LITTLEFIELD, Sec'y."

[There is no date recorded to either this letter, or the following in reply to it.]

"To the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island.

"GENTLEMEN,—I receive the welcome which you give me to

Rhode Island with pleasure ; and I acknowledge my obligations for the flattering expressions of regard contained in your address, with grateful sincerity ; being persuaded that a just application of the principles on which the Masonic fraternity is founded, must be promotive of private virtue and public prosperity.

“I shall always be happy to advance the interest of the society, and to be considered by them as a deserving brother.

“My best wishes, gentlemen, are offered for your individual happiness.

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

[The next entry on the book of record is, “Regular Lodge at the State-house, on the evening of the 7th of Sept. 5790.”]

Newport, ss. Newport, August 18th, A. D. 1832. I certify that the extracts taken from the records of King David’s Lodge, Newport, contained in the above and three foregoing pages, have been by me compared with the minutes contained in two books purporting and appearing to be the original records of said Lodge, and found to be true and accurate copies of the same.

Quid attestor,

GEO. C. MASON.
Jus. Peace and Pub. Not’y.

These letters it will be seen, continued Mr. H. bear no date, and GEORGE TURNER, Esq. and Dr. CASE, certify that on searching the old documents and papers, now in possession of Dr. CASE, *the original of Washington’s letter*, or the copy of that addressed to him, cannot be found !

It will be seen by the statement of King David’s Lodge, through their Committee, derived unquestionably from General WASHINGTON himself, that in 1781 he was not *Grand Master*, or *Master of any Lodge*, and further, that instead of being devoted to Freemasonry, *it would be disagreeable to him to be addressed as a brother Mason !*

In 1790, nine years after this, it would seem from this record, that General WASHINGTON had consented to receive and answer the very letter he declined receiving in 1781. What could have produced this change in his views ? That he stood in 1790, as it regards Masonry, in precisely the same relation he did in 1781, I will now prove, said Mr. H. by General WASHINGTON himself ; and I will disprove, by the same authority, every assertion made by Masons, from President JACKSON down to the Masonic Mirror, of his devotion to Masonry, or his having ever presided over any Lodge.

Part of a correspondence between Rev. Mr. SNYDER and General WASHINGTON, has been published. Its authenticity, however, has been denied, and I confess, said Mr. H. I have heretofore had doubts of its genuineness, from the impossibility of believing that men I have here quoted could have uttered deliberate falsehoods to prop up Masonry by the name of WASHINGTON. To set this point at rest, I availed myself of the civility of a friend, to call upon JARED SPARKS, Esq. of Boston, who has been intrusted with all the original correspondence and papers of General WASHINGTON ; and I obtained from him permission to examine the correspondence alluded to ; a permission, which I presume from his frank politeness, he would extend to any citizen. This correspondence is arranged in a large number of volumes, with an index referring to every letter and subject embraced in it. In one

of the original copy books of General WASHINGTON, Vol. XII. are the letters of General WASHINGTON to Mr. SNYDER, and in the file of letters to General WASHINGTON, is the original of the letter of Mr. SNYDER to him, which has never been published. Having been permitted by the politeness of Mr. SPARKS, to take a copy of this interesting correspondence, thus authenticated, beyond all doubt, I now submit it to the Convention.

[*To His Excellency George Washington, from Rev. G. W. Snyder.*]

SIR,—You will, I hope, not think it a presumption in a stranger, whose name perhaps never reached your ears, to address himself to you, the commanding general of a great nation. I am a German, born and liberally educated in the city of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate of the Rhine. I came to this country in 1776, and felt, soon after my arrival, a close attachment to the liberty for which these confederated States then struggled. The same attachment still remains, not glowing, but burning in my breast. At the same time that I am exulting in the measures adopted by our government, I feel myself elevated in the idea of my adopted country. I am attached, both from the bent of education and mature inquiry and search, to the simple doctrines of Christianity, which I have the honor to teach in public, and I do heartily despise all the cavils of infidelity. Our present time, pregnant with the most shocking events and calamities, threatens ruin to our liberty and government. The most secret plans are in agitation; plans calculated to ensnare the unwary, to attract the gay and irreligious, and to entice even the well-disposed to combine in the general machine for overturning all government and all religion.

It was sometime since that a book fell into my hands, entitled “Proofs of a Conspiracy, &c. by John Robison,” which gives a full account of the society of Freemasons, that distinguishes itself by the name of “*Illuminati*,” whose plan is to overthrow all government and all religion, even natural; and who endeavor to eradicate every idea of a Supreme Being, and distinguish man from beast by his shape only. A thought suggested itself to me, that some of the Lodges in the United States might have caught the infection, and might co-operate with the *Illuminati* or the Jacobin Club in France. Fauchet is mentioned by Robison as a zealous member; and who can doubt Genet and Adet? Have not these their confidants in this country? They use the same expressions, and are generally men of no religion. Upon serious reflection I was led to think that it might be within your power to prevent the horrid plan from corrupting the brethren of the English Lodges over which you preside.

I send you the “Proof of a Conspiracy,” &c. which I doubt not will give you satisfaction, and afford you matter for a train of ideas that may operate to our national felicity. If, how-

ever, you have already perused the book, it will not, I trust, be disagreeable to you that I have presumed to address you with this letter and the book accompanying it. It proceeded from the sincerity of my heart, and my ardent wishes for the common good.

May the Supreme Ruler of all things continue you long with us in these perilous times : may he endow you with strength and wisdom to save our country in the threatening storms and gathering clouds of factions and commotions ! and after you have completed his work, may He bring you to the full possession of the glorious liberty of the children of God, is the hearty and most sincere wish of

Your Excellency's very humble
And devoted servant,

G. W. SNYDER.

Fredericktown, (Maryland,) Aug. 22, 1798.

[Letter from Gen. Washington to the Rev. Mr. Snyder.]

Mount Vernon, 25th Sept. 1798.

The Rev. Mr. SNYDER,

SIR,—Many apologies are due to you for my not acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the 22d ult. and for not thanking you at an earlier period for the book you had the goodness to send me.

I have heard much of the nefarious and dangerous plan and doctrines of the Illuminati, but never saw the book until you were pleased to send it to me. The same causes, which have prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your letter, have prevented my reading the book hitherto ; namely, the multiplicity of matters, which pressed upon me before, and the debilitated state in which I was left after a severe fever had been removed—and which allows me to add little more now than thanks for your kind wishes and favorable sentiments, except to correct an error you have run into, of my presiding over the English Lodges in this country. The fact is, I preside over none, nor have I been in one, more than once or twice, within the last thirty years.—I believe, notwithstanding, that none of the Lodges in this country are contaminated with the principles ascribed to the society of the Illuminati.

With respect, I am, Sir,

Your ob't humble servant,

G'W. WASHINGTON.

[*Gen. Washington to the Rev. Mr. Snyder.*]

Mount Vernon, 24th October, 1798.

THE REV. MR. SNYDER,

REV. SIR,—I have your favor of the 17th instant before me ; and my only motive to trouble you with the receipt of this letter is, to explain and correct a mistake, which I perceive the hurry, in which I am obliged often to write letters, has led you into.

It was not my intention to doubt that the doctrines of the Illuminati, and principles of Jacobinism, had not spread in the United States. On the contrary, no one is more fully satisfied of this fact than I am.

The idea that I meant to convey was, that I did not believe that the *Lodges* of Freemasons in *this* country had, as societies, endeavored to propagate the diabolical tenets of the first, or pernicious principles of the latter, (if they are susceptible of separation.) *That individuals of them* may have done it, or that the founder, or instrument employed to found the Democratic societies in the United States, may have had these objects—and actually had a separation of the people from their government, in view, is too evident to be questioned.

My occupations are such, that little leisure is allowed me to read newspapers or books of any kind. The reading of letters and preparing answers absorb much of my time.

With respect, I remain, Rev. Sir,

Your most ob't humble ser't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

[We thus establish the fact, that up to October, 1798, General WASHINGTON was not and never had been Grand Master, or Master of any Lodge. He died Dec. 14, 1799, one year and three months after this declaration.

It appears too, that he had not been in a Lodge, but once or twice, for 30 years previous to 1798, carrying him back to 1768, long before the revolutionary war. In 1768, WASHINGTON was 36 years old, and his opinions then, were not of great moment. Masonry was not organized in Virginia, till 1778. WASHINGTON, therefore, could hardly have been made a Mason, before 1768, and if he had been in a Lodge but twice, he must have entered it only to take his degrees, and never again have made his appearance in any Lodge. The fair presumption, therefore, is, that WASHINGTON was never in a Lodge but twice, in his life ; that he paid no attention to Masonry during the war ; that in 1781 he declined being addressed by Masons as a brother Mason, and in 1799 was very particular to insist upon the fact that he had not been in a Lodge, but once or twice in 30 years, and knew nothing of their principles and practices. What are we to think of an Institution which is propped up by falsehoods like this respecting WASHINGTON, asserted as it is by the President of the United States, and other men standing high in the community ?

If Masons would do this to sustain Masonry, what confidence can we place in the authenticity of the letters purporting to have been written by

WASHINGTON to Masonic bodies? We have seen the doubts thrown over this transaction in King David's Lodge. It is also a fact, which any one can ascertain by examining the original correspondence, that although WASHINGTON was *extremely scrupulous* in preserving his correspondence with all public or private bodies, there is not *a line* of his *relating to Freemasonry*, to be found among all his papers, except the correspondence with Mr. SNYDER! It is also a fact, that WASHINGTON was equally scrupulous in *dating* his letters, and it is believed that not one can be found, which is without a date. The Masons have published four letters from General WASHINGTON, viz. to King David's Lodge, to the Grand Lodge of Charleston, to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Neither of these letters purporting to have been written by WASHINGTON, *have any date to them!*

I simply state the *facts*, said Mr. H. I make no inference;—but the tenor of some of these letters is so different from the letters to Mr. SNYDER, which I know to be genuine, that the uniform consistency of WASHINGTON, in connection with these facts, may justify a doubt whether the originals of the letters in question are in existence. The doubt can be removed at once, by producing the originals; and for one, I hope it will be done, that we may not charge Freemasonry with a single offence that does not justly belong to her. The letters, if actually written by WASHINGTON, prove nothing in favor of Masonry, against his positive declaration that he had not been in a Lodge but once or twice for thirty years; but if they were not written by him at all, their publication to the world proves a great deal.

The belief that Masonry has nothing to show in support of the claims she sets up to General WASHINGTON, is strengthened by the fact that in 1830, the following challenge was published by HENRY DANA WARD, Esq. in the Antimasonic Register, and has remained ever since, unanswered:

"We challenge the Fraternity to show the time and place that General WASHINGTON took the first degree; when and where he took the second and the third degrees. And as they claim him for Master of a Lodge, of what Lodge; and as they claim him for Grand Master, of what Grand Lodge."

The Masons have failed to prove their *affirmative*, respecting WASHINGTON, but we have now proved upon them, our *negative*.

ADDRESS

OF THE

ANTIMASONIC REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[Mr. HALLETT, from the Committee on an Address to the people of this Commonwealth, consisting of HALLETT of Suffolk, JACKSON of Middlesex, PETERS of Worcester, PHELPS of Hampden, MANN of Norfolk, BRECK of Plymouth, BREED of Essex, FORWARD of Hampshire, WHITAKER of Franklin, CONGDON of Bristol, and KNOX of Worcester, made a report. The Chairman stated that the several topics discussed in the Address had been considered by the Committee, with a view to the selection of those deemed most important; but the Committee, upon mature deliberation, had resolved to report the Address entire to the Convention, believing it to be important, in the present position of the Antimasonic party, to express their views, distinctly, upon all the subjects embraced in the Address, and that the expediency of having a short Address ought to yield to this consideration.]

FELLOW CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS :

Three hundred and seventeen Delegates, chosen by a very considerable portion of the free voters of the Commonwealth for that purpose, have assembled in Convention to represent the views of the Antimasonic Republican party in this State, and in their relation to that party throughout the Union, on the approaching election of President and Vice President of the United States, and of Governor and Lieutenant Governor of this Commonwealth.

The period is one of peculiar interest to our party and to the nation, and it is our desire that public opinion may be so informed, touching the principles and prospects of the different political parties, now dividing the Union, as to enable the people to arrive at correct conclusions and apply themselves vigorously to the correction of manifest and aggravated abuses, which endanger the purity and existence of our free institutions.

Antimasonry had its origin, as all candid men now admit, in a virtuous indignation of the people, involving in its principles the personal rights of every member of the community, and the question of supremacy between the open laws of the land, and the secret organization of

Freemasonry. If such principles do not constitute the very ground work of political action in a government of laws, then the right to use the elective franchise to preserve the constitution and the laws, and to correct abuses subverting the administration of justice and the equal rights of the citizen, does not exist.

There was no political Antimasonry until Freemasonry set itself openly in array against our civil Institutions, and proved itself to be a political evil of fatal tendency.

Was such an evil to be coaxed down, or to be voted down? *We* did not create this evil. We found its secret influence pervading our halls of legislation, our Courts of justice and all the relations of man to man in society; and we found it used there, and susceptible of being used every where, to obstruct the laws, to advance unjustly, the interests, and screen the crimes of its adherents, to the manifest wrong of those who had never become its sworn subjects, or had thrown off their allegiance to it, when convinced that it was incompatible with the highest duty of the citizen, allegiance to his country. How was this evil to be remedied? We have been able to find no answer to this question, but in the peaceable, lawful and inflexible exercise of the elective franchise.

To enforce these principles, by all the peaceable and constitutional means in our power, by presenting them constantly before the public, and constraining our fellow citizens to think and act upon them, the National Antimasonic Republicans have presented the names of two distinguished individuals as candidates for President and Vice-President,

WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland.

AMOS ELLMAKER, of Pennsylvania.

In the selection of these candidates great care was taken, that in advancing the paramount cause of Antimasonry, no valuable national principle or interest should be endangered; for Antimasonry, though a *cardinal* and *indispensable* qualification in our candidates, is not the only one. A vast range of duty beyond, but entirely compatible with this, attaches to those who may be called by their country to her most exalted offices. Hence it was not aimed at in the selection of candidates for the two first offices in the republic, that they should be partizans even upon the question of Antimasonry, or upon any other question. We would have them advance the reasonable and just ends of Antimasonry, only as they could do so in connection with the other great interests of the nation; but we would take especial care that secret devotion to freemasonry, affected or real ignorance of its character, or a fear to express opinions against it, should not be carried into official stations.

Both these candidates are men of a high order of intellect, free from passion or prejudice or partizan or personal attachments or disgusts of any kind. They have no friends to *reward*, as such, and can have no enemies to *punish*, as such. Mr. Wirt was the constitutional adviser of the nation for twelve years, occupying a station above all others fitted to enable his capacious and discriminating mind to form opinions of foreign and domestic relations, befitting a statesman rather than a politician. Mr. Ellmaker has held a similar station with consummate ability, in the great State of Pennsylvania.

Ranging in their duties and pursuits high above the partizan warfare of the day (which inevitably disqualifies men who have actively mingled in such contests, from discharging the duties of the high offices in question, without undue partiality for friends or an embarrassing oppo-

sition from enemies) they are eminently fitted to enforce the principles and practices of the Administration of Washington ;—a model of simplicity and virtue ; of inflexible integrity of purpose and dignified and conciliating firmness in action, which has been almost effaced from our Institutions.

In William Wirt, (emphatically a citizen of the *Union*, rather than of any local section or State,) we present to the people, for their Executive, a man without fear, and without reproach ; a rare union of commanding public abilities with sound private virtue, and unpretending piety—the efficient and active advocate of the great moral and philanthropic efforts of the age—the *only* candidate for the first office in the gift of a professedly moral and religious people—whose supporters, if they be moral and religious men, are not obliged to make *apologies* and *palliations*, to justify their preference, even to *themselves*, as an act of *political necessity* rather than *moral choice*.

Nor is Mr. Ellmaker, though less known, less fitted by education, talents, dignity and exemplary private virtue, for the Vice Presidency.

It is refreshing amid the moral waste around us, in the degeneracy of our public men, to contemplate the characters of such men as Wirt and Ellmaker ; eminently qualified for the highest offices, and yet as eminent for private virtue and exemplary lives—Men who have never, as so many of our most distinguished citizens have done, to their own and the nation's disgrace, availed themselves of *exalted talents* or *public services* to gloss over *private vices*.

For the purpose of giving the citizens of this Commonwealth an opportunity to confer the electoral vote of Massachusetts upon WILLIAM WIRT and AMOS ELLMAKER, the men of our choice, this Convention have selected and now present to their fellow citizens, the following ticket of Candidates for Electors of President and Vice President of the United States:

JOHN D. WILLIAMS, of Boston, at large. *Suffolk District*—Jacob Hall, of Boston. *Norfolk District*—John Bailey, of Dorchester. *Bristol District*—Joseph Ricketson, of New Bedford. *Essex South District*—William B. Breed, of Lynn. *Essex North District*—Thomas Payson, of Rowley. *Middlesex District*—Benjamin Wyman, of Woburn. *Hampden District*—John Chaffee, of Springfield. *Franklin District*—Asa Stebbins, of Deerfield. *Barnstable District*—Benjamin Hallett, of Barnstable. *Plymouth District*—Zachariah Eddy, of Middleborough. *Worcester South District*—Pliny Merrick, of Worcester. *Worcester North District*—Stephen P. Gardner, of Bolton.

Regarding the duty of an Elector of President and Vice President, as chiefly designed to execute the known will of his constituents, unless under exigences where that will cannot be expressed, we have received from each of the individuals here named, satisfactory assurances in which we place implicit reliance, that if chosen to the office of an Elector he will give his vote to WILLIAM WIRT for President, and AMOS ELLMAKER for Vice President.

Respect for the opinions of our fellow citizens, and an earnest desire to produce unity of action in the election of President, so far as it can be done without a sacrifice of principle, seem to demand of this Convention, as the chosen organ of the Antimasonic Republican party in this State, a candid exposition of the views by which they, and as far as they can judge, their constituents, as well as the Antimasonic party throughout the Union, will be governed in the distribution of their votes.

A portion of the press adverse to our cause, has persisted and will doubtless still persist, in assuming to know more of the intentions of our party, and the preferences of our candidates, than we do ourselves. Many of our fellow citizens who see those papers alone, may be honestly deceived into a belief that the Antimasonic party in this State and in the Union, will surrender their distinguishing principle, and their candidate, to advance the success of another candidate, who at this time is probably the choice of a *plurality* of the voters of this Commonwealth. Such an expectation may lead to their persisting in this preference to the exclusion of the only possible mode of defeating the re-election of General Jackson.

For the purpose of preventing the possibility of mistake in this important point, on which the issue of the approaching election in all probability now turns, we are obliged, at this juncture, to enter into an explanation of the views and relative position of the National Antimasonic party, and of that party in this State, which will unavoidably extend this Address beyond the limits to which we should prefer to confine it.

After a careful examination of the claims and relations of the several political parties and their candidates, as affecting great national questions, we can discover no sound reason that should induce us, as true friends to our country, and especially as Antimasons, to change the determination of the National Convention at Baltimore, which nominated Mr. WIRT for the Presidency.

The members of that Convention and their constituents, had been drawn to the support of Antimasonry, from both the other political parties. Convinced of the paramount duty of yielding all personal preferences to the work of restoring the lost supremacy of the laws, they resolved to defer all minor considerations, whether Mr. Clay or General Jackson should be President, to the primary object of ridding the country of the political evil of Freemasonry. It was manifestly impossible for the National Antimasonic party to have selected either of those distinguished citizens for their candidate for the Presidency, without an entire surrender of the principle of their organization. Both of them were eminent adhering members and eulogists of the order. One of them, Gen. Jackson, had exulted in the union of Masonry and religion, and had endorsed the Masonic falsehood, that the illustrious Washington was Grand Master of Masonry; and the other, Mr. Clay, was known to have avowed, and that avowal had been published by his friends, to the world, in justification of the institution, "that he knew from his own experience that Freemasonry had done and would continue to do, more *good* than it was *susceptible* of doing *harm*."

Under these circumstances it was as fortunate for the country as for the cause of Antimasonry, that a citizen of the public and private qualifications, and attached to the sound national principles which so eminently distinguish William Wirt, consented to accept the nomination of that Convention for the Presidency.

Had that portion of our fellow citizens known as National Republicans, who had not then nominated their candidate, been satisfied with the election of a President of pre-eminent qualifications, devoted to all the leading national measures and principles which they profess to regard as essential, and only differing from them materially in his views of Freemasonry, there could have been no occasion for a division in the

opposition to the re-election of General Jackson, which they now deplore as being fraught with ruin to the country. We then told them, as we tell them now, that there could be no defeat of General Jackson but by union upon a single opponent; and we told them then, as we tell them now, that Antimasons would never give their votes to an adhering Mason.

Nevertheless, the single point of political opposition to Freemasonry, was deemed so essential by the National Republican party, (through the influence of the leading members of that party, who were resolved to make it subservient to sustaining the Masonic Institution) that they were obliged to consent rather to risk the loss of the national measures they were contending for, than to secure them through the election of a President avowedly opposed to that institution.

How, then, can that portion of our fellow citizens, who are either Masons or allied to Masonry as its auxiliaries, appeal to the Antimasonic party, with any propriety, to surrender its distinguishing principle, and consent to support for the Presidency a man avowedly the advocate of Freemasonry, and publicly denying the right of the citizen to carry the question of adherence to it, into the exercise of the elective franchise?

Whatever force the argument of the relative chances of success as between Mr. Wirt and Mr. Clay, may once have had, with those who profess to believe that the best interests of the country would be safe in the hands of either of them, that argument will no longer avail the other portion of the opposition. It cannot escape any man of impartial observation, that with the result of the recent election in Kentucky, the doubtful position of every other State relied on for Mr. Clay, and the reasonable certainty that the great States of New York and Pennsylvania will carry the ticket nominated expressly to vote for Mr. Wirt, the *chances*, if *they* are to determine the preference, are decidedly in favor of an union upon Mr. Wirt. Antimasons, however, be it remembered, are less ambitious of the success of their candidates, than they are of the diffusion of their principles: success will be no triumph to them, if it does not carry with it the triumph of the principle that sworn secret societies are incompatible with our free institutions, and ought not to exist.

Admitting even that that portion of the Antimasonic party, who have surrendered a personal preference for Mr. Clay to what they regard as an object of absorbing national importance, should now consent to forego this paramount object of their political organization, and dishonor their pretensions to honesty of purpose by voting for an adhering Mason, what could they say to the other portion of their party, (the aggregate majority, in fact,) who had patriotically surrendered their original preference for General Jackson, to the single purpose of putting down Masonry? Must they not be left, by the dissolution of the political organization of Antimasonry, to resume their original preference, as between Clay and Jackson? In such an event, the only inducement held out to Antimasons to surrender their principles and dishonor their cause, viz. the success of Mr. Clay, must be lost; for the co-operation of the former advocates of Mr. Clay, who now prefer Mr. Wirt, would not be sufficient to elect him, without the aid of that portion of the same party who formerly supported General Jackson, especially in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Surely, then, our fellow citizens who now call upon us, as an act of

patriotism, to surrender not only the honor pledged to our candidates, but the principles for which we have been contending for six years, should be able to offer us some certain good for the country as an equivalent! Were we even to admit, that great good to the country would result from the election of Mr. Clay, we have, on the other hand, the great uncertainty of that election in any probable event, and the entire certainty that by means of that election, if obtained, Masonry would be continued in power for eight years longer, by the alliance of a party which Antimasons themselves would have made too strong to be defeated. If Masonry could carry her favorite candidate now, by forcing Antimasons to support a Freemason for the Presidency, she might continue to claim concessions from her "neutral auxiliaries," by whom alone she is sustained; but if the league with that institution, is shown by the result, to have lead to the defeat of that candidate, no party will thereafter incur the certainty of defeat by such an alliance.

The success of the National Republican candidate, therefore, carries with it the triumph of Freemasonry. His defeat would leave the patriotic and honest portion of the party personally attached to him, to seek for the advancement of the national principles they are contending for, through another candidate. It follows, that even admitting we may be compelled to defer the success of Mr. Wirt to another term, that success, as we believe, will then be certain, and will carry with it the prostration of this usurper over the supremacy of the laws, Freemasonry, forever. We cannot, therefore, as a party, co-operate with any other party in electing its candidate, without co-operating with their ally, Freemasonry.

Such a co-operation on the part of Antimasonry, would not only leave that party without its distinguishing principle and without its candidates, but without the power of ever again selecting candidates for the Presidency, or for any other high office; for what high-minded and honorable man would ever accept the nomination of a party who had basely surrendered its *principles*, as well as its candidates, when a determined spirit would have insured the immediate, or not remote success of both?

When, therefore, a portion of our fellow citizens with whom we have many principles in common, appeal to Antimasonic Republicans to assist in the election of Mr. Clay, they ask nothing less than the entire surrender of Antimasonry. Can we make this surrender so long as we believe, as all Antimasons have uniformly believed, with the patriotic Rush, "*that it admits of no qualification that the multiplied and proven dangers of Freemasonry, render the effort for its extirpation the highest public duty which our citizens can be summoned to perform at the approaching election for a President.*"

In every instance where Antimasons have yielded something of their distinguishing principle in favor of an adhering Mason, of sound qualifications in other respects, this very act has been urged by our opponents as an argument for Antimasons to give up Antimasonry.

The Antimasonic Legislature of Vermont, for instance, retained Judge Williams, a respectable adhering Mason, and an able officer, in the Supreme Court, and this act was seized upon as an evidence that Antimasons were not sincere in their opposition to Freemasonry. A very distinguished member of Congress, belonging to another State, went so far out of the line of his official and private duties as to use it as

an effectual appeal to secure the long contested election to Congress of a highly obnoxious Freemason, in one of the Districts of this State.

Ought we to furnish another and an inevitably fatal weapon against us, by giving our votes to an adhering Mason for President, for the doubtful object of improving the just and impartial administration of the government, while we perpetuate Freemasonry ?

Unfortunately no public man in the nation, has placed himself so directly in opposition to the fundamental principle of Antimasonry, as Mr. Clay has done. He is directly at issue with Antimasonry upon its right to *exist* ; upon its right to use all the peaceable and constitutional means in its power, through the elective franchise, to restore the lost supremacy of the laws ; for in his letter to the Indiana Antimasons, he declares that *he will never admit that it is at all material in the formation of any judgment concerning the fitness of a candidate for any office, whether he is hostile or is friendly to Freemasonry !* a principle which would exclude the right of inquiry into the fitness for office of the Masons who planned and executed the kidnapping of William Morgan, and who contributed money and means to aid the perpetrators of that outrage, in escaping from justice, and evading the laws !

Under such circumstances, if Antimasons, as a party, should contribute to the election of such an adhering Mason, with what propriety, whether they should succeed or fail in electing him, could they ever after nominate a candidate for any office, on the ground of opposition to Freemasonry ; or oppose any adherent of the order who should be a candidate ? Would not our National Republican allies, after we should have thus sacrificed our *principles* to their *triumph*, or shared with them in defeat, remind us of the inconsistency of opposing a Mason for Governor, member of Congress, Representative to the Legislature, or any other office, when we had just voted for an adhering Mason to be our President ; a Mason who denied our right to use the ballot box against Freemasonry ?

Could Antimasons after such a departure from honest principle, ever occupy any other relation to political parties than as "neutral auxiliaries" to Freemasonry ; a corps of mercenaries in the forlorn hope of National Republicanism !

We would urge these considerations especially upon that large and highly respectable portion of our fellow citizens, who are entirely convinced that the principles and practices of Freemasonry are immoral and unchristian in their tendency, and that the existence of such a society is inconsistent with the safety of our political institutions ; but who, not having examined the grounds on which the political organization of Antimasonry stands, are led to believe, by their patriotic anxiety to save the nation from the re-election of General Jackson, that it is possible for the Antimasonic party to vote for an adhering Mason, for President, without involving the entire sacrifice of their principles, and the surrender of their party.

If that portion of our fellow citizens will candidly examine the grounds of political action, which we assure them will be inflexibly adhered to by the Antimasonic Republican party, throughout the Union, they must perceive that the only alternative, in this and every other State, for the choice of those who regard the defeat of General Jackson as the paramount object in the approaching election, lies between the present incumbent of the Presidency, and Mr. Wirt.

We hold the national welfare and the purity of our national institu-

tions, a paramount consideration, calling upon all citizens to unite in ridding the country of the misrule of *Jacksonism*, and the misrule of *Freemasonry*. The incompetency of the present Chief Magistrate, surrounded as he is by the worst influences, and his departure from the fundamental principles on which all former Administrations have been conducted, would, in the event of his re-election, almost compel us to doubt of the capacity of the people for sound discrimination in self-government;—but that *doubt* would become *conviction*, if after the undeniable proofs that Freemasonry is utterly subversive of the constitution and laws, the people should resolve to foster and sustain that Institution in its usurpation over the supremacy of the laws.

We therefore hold, that the sum of the evils of the continuance of this Administration for another four years, great as we admit them to be, is nothing in comparison to the question whether Masonry shall continue to usurp dominion over the laws, and to prostrate the equal rights of the citizen.

The question as to which of the political parties opposed to Antimasonry, shall be in power, is a question at most, of what sort of laws we shall have affecting mainly the pecuniary interests and not the equal rights of the citizens; how the Tariff shall be modified, whether the U. S. Bank shall be re-chartered—important measures we admit, but not such as ought to supercede the question we hold at issue.

On the other hand, the question whether Freemasonry shall go down or keep uppermost, is a question whether we shall have any laws; whether there shall be any impartial administration of the laws; any security for the equal rights of those who have sworn allegiance to no form of government but that of their country.

Neither has it escaped our observation in forming an estimate between the evils of Jacksonism and the evils of Freemasonry—that although the laws have been outraged under this Administration; and *constructively* too by the countenance of the Executive; especially in the instances of assaults upon members of Congress, yet no impediment has been opposed to the due course of law in the punishment of the offenders by the legal tribunals, while on the other hand the most daring outrage committed upon the life of a citizen, under the penalties and the direct sanction of Freemasonry, has gone unpunished and unatoned for, solely because that Institution proved itself stronger than the civil laws, in protecting its guilty subjects.

How then we ask, do those of our fellow citizens who estimate the evils connected with the re-election of President Jackson, above the evils growing out of Freemasonry, propose to remedy those evils by the election of the man to whom they call upon us to surrender our principles, for the sake of saving the country from ruin? The greatest of these evils is the *degeneracy of public morals*, the outrages committed upon freedom of debate, the passionate violence of the Executive, the substitution of his will for the will of the people, and the character of the partizans by whom he is surrounded. Now we appeal to those of our fellow citizens, who ought not to be satisfied with a *political* reform, if unaccompanied by a *moral* reform in the government, whether they are prepared, as moral and religious men, to support Mr. Clay as a man better qualified than WILLIAM WIRT, to correct this degeneracy of the public morals by private example; to rebuke these outrages, without being charged with having himself committed like outrages—to infuse a mild and conciliatory spirit into the public coun-

cils, without the retort of having himself indulged in personal bitterness—and to divest himself entirely of partizan claims from men who have done more for *him* than they have done or will do for the *country*?

We are obliged to say that Henry Clay, however eminent as a statesman, is far behind the ordinary standard of morals. There is no unction of virtuous example in his private life.

We seek not to censure, and we would rather palliate than condemn the faults of eminent men. But there are acts in the life of Henry Clay, which even his brilliant talents and great public services have not atoned for; the less so because high talents and high station render such acts the more pernicious as examples to the youth of our land.—The violence done to the laws in a memorable instance of an assault upon the life of a Senator for words spoken in debate, while he held the second office in importance in the nation—and the more recent undignified exhibitions of personal resentment in the Senate of the United States.—These acts, and the indications still left of unsubdued passion, render it at best extremely doubtful whether at this juncture the public morals could be reformed, outrage and violence rebuked, and sectional asperities softened, by the election of Mr. Clay to the Presidency.

In short, when such men as *William Wirt* and *Henry Clay* are presented for the highest office in the gift of a moral and religious people, is it a lesson New England men should give to their sons, that the latter ought to be selected in preference to the former, for the task of reforming the degeneracy of public morals, and averting the ruin of the country?

We cannot, therefore, find in any national advantages, likely to be secured by the election of Mr. Clay, an equivalent for the surrender of all opposition to Freemasonry, which would be the inevitable consequence of the Antimasonic party contributing to aid in effecting that choice.

In an especial manner, as it appears to us, one important National question which most agitates the Union, at present, the Tariff, could not be sustained or settled, with so just a regard to the interests of the whole industry of the country and to the preservation of the Union, without a resort to violence; under the administration of Henry Clay, as under that of William Wirt.

We deprecate the connection of this question regarding the National Industry, with the success of any individual or party, because it is emphatically a national question, in which no party ought to claim an exclusive property; and we rejoice that for the first time in the history of our Legislation, a law regulating the Tariff has been adopted, by the sanction of almost all parties, so that no party can avail itself of this act as a party measure to advance party purposes.

Believing too, that our Southern brethren who avow the dangerous and destructive doctrine of nullification, are nevertheless as sincere as they are mistaken in seeking that mode of redress for supposed grievances, growing out of this system, ought we not to adopt, in the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, the alternative which will best insure the safety of the Union, and the great national interests at issue, without a tendency to exasperate them to violent measures that must shake the Union if not paralyze its energies, or perhaps demand an exercise of those energies, which it is fearful to contemplate?

The laws should be enforced, the just supremacy of the Constitutional Tribunals maintained, and private, as well as public wrongs, re-

dressed; but it should be done, as Antimasons aim to enforce the supremacy of the laws over Masonic usurpation, by the force of public opinion and the exercise of all peaceable and constitutional means, cautiously, patiently and judiciously applied.

It is impossible not to perceive that the relation in which Mr. Wirt stands to the conflicting sections and doctrines of the country, places him incomparably before any other candidate, as to the means of softening sectional jealousies and preserving the integrity of the Union.

Whether then, we resolve this important question as to the preference of candidates, into a question of EXPEDIENCY or a question of RIGHT, we feel equally bound as lovers of our country and as Antimasonic Republicans, to adhere to the original determination of the Antimasonic party, to give our zealous and undivided support to *William Wirt*; to the principles on which he was nominated, and to the national interests which we feel entire confidence he is best fitted to sustain with equal conciliation and firmness.

Is it not enough for us to do right? We cannot be responsible for others doing wrong; least of all ought we to do a *certain wrong* that a supposed good may come of it.

If the burden of Freemasonry, which a portion of our fellow citizens who like us are opposed to this Administration, have resolved to sustain at all hazards, has become too heavy for them to bear, with any hope of winning the goal, it is not our fault that they are sinking under it, for we have earnestly exhorted them from the beginning, to throw it down, and take up the supremacy of the laws. We cannot aid them in carrying that burden.

We again exhort the high-minded and patriotic men among them to yield an unavailing personal preference, to their country's good—to refuse longer to act as the "neutral auxiliaries" of Freemasonry, and to co-operate in the election of the only man through whom the national principles they profess to regard as paramount, can be sustained.

If they are sincere in their professions of alarm at the pending ruin of the country, they ought not to pause a moment for a mere personal preference in candidates. Present success is not indispensable to our cause. Defeat has been its growth and strength, and believing that cause, in the present crisis, to be the cause of the country and of the constitution, above all the questions as to men and measures which now agitate it, we cannot surrender or defer it to build up a party essentially adverse to that cause, and prepared to use the official influence given it by the votes of Antimasons, to enforce the doctrine avowed by its Chief, that the citizen has no right to take into his estimate of the fitness of a candidate for any office, whether that candidate is favorable or unfavorable to Freemasonry.

We believe that it is as dignified, as patriotic, and as constitutional to contend for the election of a President, on the principles of political opposition to a secret society which paralyzes and controls the laws, as to make it an indispensable requisite in a candidate for that office, that he shall be in favor of the Tariff and the United States Bank. The first involves a fundamental principle in free government; the latter, however important, are measures of comparatively temporary expediency and pecuniary prosperity.

These are the leading principles on which the Antimasonic Republican party, will support the nomination of William Wirt and Amos

Ellmaker. In the integrity and firmness of purpose of that party in every section of the Union, we feel entire confidence. We admire and would imitate the conciliatory but firm spirit of our coadjutors in this cause, in New York, Pennsylvania and other States, and as they have sought, as far as it can be done without sacrificing the integrity of the party, so would we seek, to induce the patriotic men of all parties to co-operate in the work of true reform, which may now be accomplished through their aid, in the election of the upright and accomplished Wirt. But we would not urge this course upon them if it involves a single sacrifice of honor or principle. Of that they must judge.

For ourselves we can perceive no good reason why any citizen who is satisfied that, in the aggregate estimate of moral and political qualifications, Mr. Wirt is the best man before the people, should be deterred from voting for him, because he was nominated by a party to which such citizen may not belong. William Wirt would be the president of no party, but of the nation. True, no man who would sustain Masonry, can vote for Mr. Wirt, but there are very many patriotic and moral and religious men who are identified with no party. To such we appeal, not as Antimasons, but as good citizens, for their co-operation in the election of William Wirt.

Here then we rest our cause with the people, with honest views of our duty, from which policy and principle alike forbid us to recede. The crisis is vitally important to Antimasonry. It has stood the test of reproach and severity, and proscription and defeat, for six years, and has continued to grow in growth, and strengthen in strength, until from being despised by all other parties, it is now most feared by the strongest and is appealed to by the weakest to *save the country by sacrificing itself!* Such an appeal to men united in political action from conscientious motives rather than choice, and anxious to retire from political controversy as soon as the best interests of the nation and the supremacy of the laws are secured, is calculated to have an effect. They would not hesitate to make the sacrifice demanded of them, if convinced that the lasting good of the country required it. But they cannot and will not permit the flattery or false alarms of their opponents to divert them from their purpose. If a sacrifice is to be made on the altar of public good, the first offering should be *that guilty thing*, Freemasonry. So long as those who call upon us to make sacrifices, persist in saving that from the flames of public indignation, *we cannot consent to receive from them lessons of patriotism!*

Is it a time now to talk of leaving the great political evil we have detected in our institutions, to correct itself? If Freemasonry be not a political evil, we ought never to have opposed it as such. But if it be a great political evil, why should we leave it to correct itself at its own good pleasure, any more than our opponents should leave the political evils they contend against to correct themselves? If we are bound to leave the institutions of our country and the control of public offices in the hands of *Freemasons* and their supporters, because many of them are *good men*, why should not our National Republican fellow citizens be content to leave those institutions and the control of the offices in the hands of *Jackson men*, because many of them are *good men*? Our want of confidence in Freemasons is no more proscriptive and unjust, than their want of confidence in Jackson men.

We therefore earnestly appeal to the friends of the Antimasonic cause,—to the friends of virtue and religion, to the high-minded men of

our land who ought to be elevated above all personal considerations—and to the advocates of the best national interests now at stake—to rally around the pure name of William Wirt, as *the only man who can come into the highest office of the country with a clear head, clean hands and a sound heart.*

Similar views in the surrender of all former party distinctions, which governed the proceedings of the National Antimasonic party in the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, ought uniformly to govern the exercise of the elective franchise, by Antimasons in State offices. The great object we have at heart, demands of us the surrender of every local, sectarian or party prejudice, on the altar of the common good. It has been the great aim of the enemies of Antimasonry, who foresaw that we should become too strong to conquer if united in the single object of our cause, to distract us by reviving forgotten, or creating new political and sectarian jealousies. Thus the National Convention had no sooner nominated Mr. Wirt, than one party objected to him on *our account*, as a *federalist*, and the other as a *mason*, though the first of these parties was half made up of federalists and the second half made up of masons.

Be it our business as Antimasons to convince them that we recognize no distinction of former or present party or sect, but the distinctions involving the success of our cause, and the great national interests we advocate. Whoever openly sustains that cause and those principles, is one of us, and belongs to our party, no matter what party may once have claimed him.

Among these distinctions, which we find most urged by the supporters of the present administration, (as if to strive to make up by *name*, what they lack in principle,) none are more idle and unmeaning than that of Democrat and Federalist. The measures on which those distinctions formerly existed, have given place to other important measures, upon which the adherents of all former parties are divided. With us all these distinctions have been forgotten and merged in the honorable appellation of Antimasonic Republicans. Let us prove that we are true to ourselves and our cause, by adhering to *our own* principles and arguments and disregarding secret or open enemies, who are so desirous of furnishing us with arguments of *their own to defeat that cause.*

We do not allude to these former distinctions of party because we believe them to be at all recognized by Antimasons, in the advancement of their great cause, but as an answer to those of our opponents of both the old parties, who attempt to excite jealousies among us, by taunting an Antimason who was once a *democrat*, for voting for an old *federalist*, when they think *that* will do hurt to our cause ; or taunting an Antimason, once a *federalist*, for voting for an old *democrat*, where they think *that* will do hurt to our cause.

On the same principle the opponents of antimasonry taunt us with voting for William Wirt, because he was once a Freemason ; and indeed, there would be as much propriety in refusing to vote for a man who had once been a Mason and become an Antimason, as to refuse to vote for a man who had once been a Federalist or Republican, now that all parties claim to be Republican. When there is no more distinction of Antimasons and Masons as opposite parties in this country, will it be an objection to a candidate for office that he was *once* a Mason, although Masons and Masonry no longer exists ; and if not, can it be an objection with Antimasons now, that a candidate for office fully avow-

ing their principles, was once a *democrat* or a *federalist*, a *Jackson man* or a *Clay man*? It is no matter to us whose man he once was. If he is a good man, a capable man, and an Antimason, he is our man, he is the *people's* man.

It remains for us to perform another duty, in presenting to our fellow citizens as a candidate for the office of Governor of this Commonwealth,

SAMUEL LATHROP,

of West Springfield.

We ask your suffrages for him, on the grounds of his unaffected purity of character, his plain and substantial manners, his practical good sense, his undoubted qualifications, proved by a long course of public services, his attachment to sound national principles and measures, his preference for William Wirt for the Presidency, and his settled conviction and public avowal that "*the existence of the Masonic Institution is incompatible with the sovereignty of the State, the freedom of the citizen and the security of life and property—that public opinion ought to be directed against it, and brought to bear upon it, in every peaceable and constitutional form, until it shall cease to exist.*"

The necessity of eulogy is saved us, by the well known public services and private virtues of Mr. Lathrop. For many years he was a Representative in Congress, and more recently he presided over the Senate of Massachusetts, with an efficiency and impartiality that made his final voluntary retirement to private life, to be felt by all parties as a public loss.

We found him a private citizen, attached to useful agricultural pursuits, a practical farmer, working with his own hands. Had he been more ambitious of office than regardful of principle, doubtless he might *now* have received from the dominant party, the nomination which principle can alone induce him to accept at our hands. Such a man, whose principles and heart are alike sound, it is a pleasure to recommend to the support of our fellow citizens for their Chief Magistrate.

For candidate for the office of Lieutenant Governor, we present for your suffrages, on the same principles, and for similar reasons,

TIMOTHY FULLER,

of Cambridge,

long and usefully connected with the State and the national governments, in the discharge of responsible offices. In all his public relations, he has uniformly, by his ability, integrity and devotion to business, reflected back upon his constituents the honors they have conferred upon him.

No man can for a moment doubt that the duties of that office, if intrusted to him, would be discharged with equal fidelity and ability.

Can our fellow citizens, who will candidly examine the principles of Antimasonry, and its relation to other parties, which the present crisis seemed to make it imperative upon us to embody in this Address; can they see aught in those principles, and in the exemplary character, the

sound national opinions and the unquestioned ability of the candidates presented for the executive offices of the State and nation, that should alarm or repel any true lover of his country?

If, then, any portion of our fellow citizens are weary of this controversy between Antimasonry and Masonry, without ever having examined its merits, and ask us where all this perseverance of Antimasonry as an "inflexible minority" is to end, and when Antimasons will deem their just objects attained, so that the political action of the parties between which they already hold the balance of power in nine States, can resume their accustomed course; our answer is—whenever the principle is thoroughly infused into our Constitution and laws through out the Union, of uncompromising opposition to secret societies, possessing means of extensive and dangerous combination to subvert the laws. This will not depend upon a partial, or temporary, or time-serving surrender of Masonic Charters, though the voluntary surrender of such charters in good *faith*, would be hailed with the highest satisfaction, as an evidence of a determination in those who make such surrender, to meet their fellow citizens on open, equal, honest ground; but the consummation of the just ends of Antimasonry, must rest upon the diffusion of a settled conviction, pervading the great majority of the people of this free Republic, and influencing the acts of legislative, judicial and executive officers, on all fitting occasions, consistent with equal rights and the laws; that Freemasonry, or any other secret combination, bound together by extra-judicial oaths and penalties, possessing the means, and having exerted those means, to defeat the ends of justice, or obstruct the enjoyment of equal rights, is, in the language of William Wirt, "*at war with the fundamental principles of the social compact, treason against society, and a wicked conspiracy against the laws of God and man, which ought to be put down.*"

Whenever this principle becomes general, it is obvious that Antimasonry will be the national principle, requiring no further active political organization to sustain it. The just ends of that cause will thus be attained, peaceably and constitutionally, without violence or injury to any national interest, and in its triumph it will lose itself in the people, the whole people; who will have become antimasonic in principle.

The result will be that no candidate to office need *then* be nominated or opposed by Antimasons, with direct reference to this principle, whether he may once have been a Freemason or not; because no adherent or advocate of Freemasonry can then be found to be presented for any office.

Whatever political principles and measures may then be at issue in the nation, they will resume the regular course of political action; but just so long as the adherents of this obnoxious Institution and their active or "neutral auxiliaries," are presented for the free suffrages of a free people, just so long Antimasonry must retain its political organization, or the main principle it contends for cannot become a settled principle in our civil institutions, and without it there is no safety to those institutions.

In the accomplishment of this great object, no unworthy sacrifice is required of our fellow citizens who are Freemasons, or who support Freemasonry, because whenever they are convinced that a full surrender of that Institution is a duty they owe to their country, it will be an honor and not a disgrace to make it—and until they are so convinced, they will contend for that Institution; and Antimasons must necessarily

contend against their carrying the principles or influences of that Institution, into any of the offices of the Government.

Precisely as our fathers, after the revolution, contended against the election to office of any of the adherents to the mother country or their supporters, so long as men holding opinions adverse to free government, were presented by any party as candidates for any office.

This is our reply to those who ask when this controversy will end, and what are the ulterior views of Antimasonry. The time has arrived when we must look to these ulterior views, and when the country has a right to require a frank avowal of them at our hands. Be this our answer—that we are resolved to root out this noxious Institution, thoroughly and completely, by the use of all the peaceable, legal and constitutional means in our power, in order that we may leave to our children, and they transmit to theirs, that genuine inheritance of equal rights (now impaired and wasted by this foreign intruder) which our fathers poured out their richest blood to acquire.

Worcester, Sept. 6, 1832.

NAMES OF DELEGATES,

Appended to the above Address, who were in attendance at the *Antislavery Republican Convention*, held in Worcester, September 5th and 6th, 1832.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

Boston.
Abner Phelps,
Henry Gassett,
Benj. W. Lamb,
Jonathan French,
Jacob Hall,
Benj. V. French,
Silas Pierce,
Francis Brinley,
Simon G. Shipley,
Amasa Walker,
Benj. F. Hallett,
Jona. Simonds,
Eben. Clough,
William Marston,
Danl. Dickerson,
Hiram Manley,
James Cheever,
Nath. Fisher Ames,
Israel Martin,
Amos Farnsworth,

George Sutherland,
Eben. Goodrich,
Samuel D. Greene,
Aaron Bancroft,
Wm. Trumbull,
Aaron Guild,
Samuel N. Fuller,
David Tilden,
Jona. French, jr.
Richard S. Roberts,
Thos. Hill,
Tilley Brigham,
Charles Warren, [mer-
Joel Thayer, chant,
Isaac Child,
Eben. Tasker,
James Pike,
David Chamberlain,
Joshua Cheever,
Daniel Gregg,
Samuel Hudson,

Benj. Sweetser,
John D. W. Williams,
Robert B. Hall,
Joshua Chamberlain,
Thomas Barnes,
Wm. S. Morton,
Horace A. Manchester,
Dexter Dickinson,
Isaac Porter,
Noah Gray,
Aaron Wallis,
Israel Ames,
Nath. Budd,
Thomas Hollis,
Wm. L. Garrison,
Dan. Henshaw,
Heman Holmes,
Thos. Warren,
Romanus Emerson
Thomas Blasland.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Charlestown.
Edwin Monroe.
Medford.
Nathan Adams,
Nathan Adams, jr.
Woburn.
Jonathan Thompson, jr.
Samuel B. Larkin,
Benj. Wyman.
Burlington.
Nathaniel Kendall.
South Reading.
Jeremiah Green,

Hart. Sweetser.
Lexington.
Nathaniel Cutler,
William Simmons,
Eben. Smith,
David Little.
Concord.
Stephen Patch,
Eleazer Brooks.
Lincoln.
Cyrus Smith,
Francis A. Pickering.

Watertown.
John Clark,
George Laughton.
Newton.
William Jackson,
Mathias Collins,
Jos. Bacon.
Lowell.
Uriah B. Stearns,
Abraham Withington,
Amos Harrington.
Weston.
Alpheus Bigelow,

Winthrop Harrington. <i>Framingham.</i>	Jonas Wilder, <i>Reading.</i>	Noah Adams. <i>East Sudbury.</i>
Nathaniel Fisk. <i>Hopkinton.</i>	Jonas Parker. <i>Ashby.</i>	Lewis Jones. <i>Walham.</i>
Nathan Phipps, L. W. Stowell. <i>Marlboro'.</i>	Hezekiah Colman. <i>Shirley.</i>	Nahum Hardy, Darius Wellington, Ephraim A. Stetson, Abraham Wellington. <i>Groton.</i>
Rufus Stratton, Stephen Pope, Edward Miller, jr. Nath. Longley. <i>Brighton.</i>	Benj. Hartwell. <i>Cambridge.</i>	Elijah Whiting, Wm. L. Chaplin, Thos. W. Hartwell, Bradford Russell.
Thaddeus Baldwin, James Greenwood,	Francis Bowman, Josiah Burrage, jr. Chas. M. Hovey. <i>Townsend.</i>	
	Hiram Warner,	

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

<i>Scituate.</i>	Reuben Loud.	<i>Halifax.</i>
John B. Turner, Eben T Fogg. <i>North Bridgewater.</i>	<i>Bridgewater.</i>	Obadiah Lyon, Seth Allen.
Eliphalet Kingman, Lysander Howard. <i>Abington.</i>	Nathan Lazell, Holmes Sprague, Samuel Leonard, Isaac Alden, Lewis T. Alden.	<i>Middleborough.</i>
N. H. Whiting,		Martin Keith, George W. Wood, Samuel Breck.

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

<i>Belchertown.</i>	Thomas Corey.	Timothy Bidwell,
Justus Forward, Luther Holland. <i>Enfield.</i>	<i>Ware.</i>	John W. Stowell.
Ephraim Richards,	Jesse Lewis, Adin Parsons,	

NORFOLK COUNTY.

<i>Roxbury.</i>	<i>Quincy.</i>	<i>Bellingham.</i>
Joseph Curtis, Nathan Smith. <i>Dorchester.</i>	Thomas Taylor. <i>Weymouth.</i>	John Bates. <i>Franklin.</i>
Edward Foster, jr. Oliver Davenport, Otis Shepard. <i>Randolph.</i>	Lemuel Humphrey, Leonard Tirrell. <i>Stoughton.</i>	Joseph Bacon, Caleb Fisher. <i>Medway.</i>
Seth Mann, Zenas French. Eleazer Beal. <i>Braintree.</i>	Jesse Pierce, James Tolman, <i>Sharon.</i>	Luther Metcalf, Christopher Slocumb. <i>Canton.</i>
David Hollis, Jacob Allen. <i>Milton.</i>	Tisdale Drake. <i>Foxborough.</i>	James Endicott, Elijah Spare, <i>Dedham.</i>
Joseph Porter, Seth D. Whitney, Asaph Churchill.	Henry Hobart, Daniel Carpenter. <i>Wrentham.</i>	Herman Mann, John Guild, Pliny Bingham. <i>Cohasset.</i>
	Eben. Blake, Shem Armsby.	Nicholas Tower.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

Orange.
William Brooks,
Reuben Jennison.
Wendell.
Lewis Stone,
Jonathan Whitaker.

Charlemont.
Waitstill Hastings.
Deerfield.
Dennis Stebbins,
Stephen Whitney.

Hawley.
John Toby.
New Salem.
William Whitaker,
William Smith.

BRISTOL COUNTY.

New Bedford.
Joseph Ricketson,
Charles W. Morgan,
Benjamin Lincoln,
John Burrage,
James B. Congdon,
Bethuel Penniman,
Alanson Gooding.

Troy.
Micah H. Ruggles,
Henry H. Fish,
Moses Pierce,
Philip R. Bennett,
Abraham Bowen,
Gilbert H. Durfee,
Albert Bennett,
Levi Chase,
Abraham Cooke.

Taunton.
William Reed,
Daniel Brewer,
Ethredge Clark, jr.
Luther Short,
Samuel Gulliver,
Henry Williams,
Solomon Woodward, jr.

Pawtucket.
Remember Kent.
Attleborough.
Moses Richardson,
Seba Carpenter.

Fairhaven.
Sampson Perkins.

Somerset.
Isaac Pierce,

Edward Slade.
Norton.
Luther Lincoln,
Thomas Copeland,
Simeon Blanding.

Easton.
Jonathan Pratt,
James Dickerman,
Isaac Lathrop.

Berkley.
Samuel French,
Adoniram Crane.

Dighton.
Leonard Goodwin.

Rehoboth.
Caleb H. Burr.

ESSEX COUNTY.

Lynn.
William B. Breed,
Jonathan Buffum,
Francis S. Newhall,
Thomas Bowler,
John Stone,

John Osborn,
Joseph Breed, 3d,
Christopher Robinson,
George Todd,
William Chase.

Salem.
Benjamin Morgan.
Danvers.
Amos King.
Lynnfield.
William Perkins.

WORCESTER COUNTY.

Worcester.
Pliny Merrick,
William B. Fox,
Jonathan Harrington,
Levi A. Dowley,
Benjamin Prentice,
Levi Howe,
Gardner Burbank,
Edward Kirkland,
William Jennison,
Elisha A. Brigham,
William Stowell,
Luther White.

Westborough.
Nahum Fisher,
Jesse Woods,
Otis Brigham,

Lovett Peters,
Joseph Lathrop,
Onslow Peters.
Petersham.
Washington Howe.
Paxton.
Jonathan P. Grosvenor.
Southborough.
Elisha Johnson, jr.
Dexter Fay.

Millbury.
Aaron Trask,
Joseph Torrey,
Ezra Lovell,
Abijah Allen,
Ebenezer W. Goffe,
T. Aldrich,

Lyman Goodell,
Stephen Blanchard,
Solomon Dwinell,
Isaac Goodell.

Lunenburg.
Henry Winchester.

Leicester.
John King.

Upton.
William Fiske,
Elijah Whitney.

Brookfield.
Samuel Perry,
Francis Howe,
John M. Fiske,
Allen Newell.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

<i>Winchendon.</i>	Parley Hammond.	John Hull,
Foxwell N. Thomas.	<i>Bolton.</i>	Joel Lackey,
<i>Shrewsbury.</i>	Stephen P. Gardner,	Samuel Morse.
Henry Snow,	Isaac Stratton,	<i>Athol.</i>
Thomas W. Wood, jr.	G. R. M. Withington.	Theodore Jones.
<i>Milford.</i>	<i>Grafton.</i>	<i>Northborough.</i>
Dexter Walker,	Joseph C. Luther,	Jotham Bartlett,
Allen Partridge.	Joseph Smith,	Asaph Rice,
<i>Ward.</i>	Albert Stone,	Samuel Fisher,
Jonas Bancroft,	Henry Parker,	Nathaniel Brigham.
Steven Savory.	Thaddeus Read.	<i>West Boylston.</i>
<i>Charlton.</i>	<i>North Brookfield.</i>	Thomas Keyes,
Charles Preston,	Jonathan Cary,	Levi Goodale.
Rufus Messer, jr.	Kittridge Hill,	<i>Berlin.</i>
Abner Wallin.	Freeman Walker.	James Goddard.
<i>Hardwick.</i>	<i>Sutton.</i>	
Joseph Knox,	Lewis Burbank,	

HAMPDEN COUNTY.

<i>Springfield.</i>	Joel Miller.	John Hoar,
Seth Flagg,	<i>Wilbraham.</i>	Welcome Converse.
Lester Phelps,	John Bliss.	<i>Palmer.</i>
Joshua B. Clapp,	<i>Munson.</i>	Moses Learned.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

<i>Sandwich.</i>	Josiah Bacon.
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RECAPITULATION.

Suffolk County	61	Barnstable	1	Hampden	8
Plymouth	16	Middlesex	54		
Norfolk	34	Hampshire	8	Total	319
Bristol	39	Franklin	10		
Worcester	75	Essex	13		

NOTE. The above list was reported by Committees from each of the Counties, and is designed to give the names of those present, excluding more than one hundred names of Delegates who were elected and accepted the appointment, but were unable to attend. Delegates were present from all the Counties in the State, except Dukes and Nantucket, and Berkshire. There was a mistake in the return of Delegates present from Franklin County, which has been corrected, as far as possible. Some names are probably omitted. On the 3d page, for "three hundred and forty-three Delegates," read three hundred and nineteen, the actual number of Delegates present.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

[The following named gentlemen were admitted to take seats in the Convention, with the right of debating but not voting.]

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence—Joseph Veazie, Henry Soule, James Ham. *North Providence*—Alonzo Brown. *Smithfield*—Nathan Aldrich.

CONNECTICUT.

Coventry—John Boynton. *Ashford*—Thomas C. Hayward. *Pomfret*—Job Williams.

NEW YORK.

Burlington—Caleb Richardson. *Albany*—Joseph B. Richardson. *Troy*—Jonathan Slade, Nathan Duval. *New York*—James Fellows, Richard Fellows.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Enfield—Wm. Perkins. *New Bedford*—Pardon Tillinghast. *Worcester*—Silas Nourse, Joseph Goddard, Solomon Marble, Moses Perry, Luther Goddard. *Spencer*—Isaac Stearns. *Milbury*—Caleb Burbank. *Brookfield*—John Wood. *Boston*—William H. Richardson. *Northborough*—Rev. Mr. Allen, William Eager, Anson Rice. *Norton*—Simeon Blanden. *Palmer*—Leonard Davis. *Norfolk County*—Clarke Patridge. *Shrewsbury*—Nathan Pratt. *West Boylston*—Abel Goodell, Benjamin F. Keyes. *New Braintree*— ——— Delano. *Grafton*—Samuel Wood, George Buffington. *Hubbardston*—Luther Clifford. *Randolph*—Silas Paine, jr. Eben. Read—40.

On motion of Mr. RUGGLES,

At half past 6 o'clock, P. M. the Convention adjourned without day.

APPENDIX.

[In pursuance of the Resolution of the Convention, [see page 7,] and in order to bring the question of fact to a definite and speedy issue, the State Committee addressed to the Grand Chapter and the Grand Lodge of this State, which assembled in Boston the 11th and 12th of September, the annexed communication. No reply has been received from either of those bodies, or their officers.]

Boston, Sept. 11, 1832.

To Rev. Samuel Clark, or the presiding officer of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons in Massachusetts.

SIR,—At the Antimasonic Convention held at Worcester the 5th and 6th instant, consisting of more than three hundred Delegates, a Reply to the Declaration signed by about 1200 Freemasons of Boston and its vicinity, was presented by a committee, and adopted by that body, setting forth specifically the most material allegations made by Antimasons against Freemasonry and Freemasons for the past five years. That Declaration, signed by yourself and several members of the Grand Chapter, purported unequivocally to deny *all* the allegations made against Freemasonry during that period, without specifying what the allegations were.

The professed object of the Masonic Declaration was, “to establish truth and expose imposition,” an object which all Antimasons are earnestly desirous to carry into effect. In order, therefore, to present a fair issue to our fellow citizens who belong to the Masonic Fraternity, and who still insist that the opposition to their society is wholly groundless, the Convention before referred to, caused a minute specification to be made of the most material allegations, affecting the character of the Institution, with a view to ascertain, if possible, whether these were the allegations which the Masonic Declaration embraced in its unequivocal and universal denial.

Holding themselves subject to the verdict of public opinion, and presuming that no body of men in this country can fairly claim to be above it, the Antimasonic Convention have proposed an issue, to test, so far as facts are concerned, the question between Antimasons and Masons, which now divides the community, by offering on their part to appoint a committee who should assert the allegations contained in the said reply to be true. They also proposed that either the twelve hundred, or any of the grand bodies or officers of the Masonic Fraternity in this State, should appoint a committee on their part, who would publicly, in some newspaper, charge the Antimasonic committee personally, with falsehood, in uttering these allegations. That committee should then commence an action of libel against the Masonic committee, and thus both parties having compulsory process to procure testimony, the trial, if fairly conducted, could not fail "*to establish truth and expose imposition.*"

It would seem to be no more than a just deference to public opinion, that where, in matters of fact, twelve hundred respectable citizens unequivocally deny, what more than three hundred equally respectable citizens as positively assert, some certain mode should be adopted, through the judicial or legislative tribunals, to find out where the truth lies; in order that *truth* may be established and *imposition* be exposed. With this view we take this method of apprising you and the body over which you preside, (which we learn is to assemble this evening,) that the State Antimasonic Convention, at their recent session, voted, that the undersigned, as the representatives of that Convention, do assert, and pledge themselves to sustain, the truth of the allegations against Freemasonry above referred to. This the undersigned have the honor to inform you that they are prepared to do, and they respectfully solicit the appointment of a committee on your part, for that purpose. Should you comply with this request, we shall be happy to furnish the committee with specifications of the aforesaid allegations, which if untrue, they may specifically deny, in the form proposed, so as to make up a legal issue on the facts, before a jury or other suitable civil tribunal. Whenever we may be advised of the appointment of such a committee, we shall be gratified to communicate with them in any suitable manner that may be most agreeable.

We unaffectedly assure you, Sir, and the body over which you preside, that we make this proposal, not with any hostile feeling toward any of the individuals who compose the Masonic Fraternity in this State, but with an earnest desire to place the principles and practices, secret or open, of the Masonic Institution, before the public, in the most authentic form, to enable

them to decide understandingly upon the merits of the question between us.

Respectfully, your obedient servants,

(Signed,)

JACOB HALL,	} <i>For the State Committee.</i>
GEO. ODIORNE,	
B. F. HALLETT,	
DANIEL WELD,	
DAVID TILDEN,	

I certify, that on the 11th of September, 1832, I delivered at the house of Mr. Samuel Howe, Secretary of the Grand Chapter, a letter, of which the foregoing is a copy; that I was informed he was at home at the time, and presume the letter was put into his hands.

ISAAC PORTER.

I certify, that on the 12th of September, I delivered into the hands of Col. Joseph Jenkins, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, a letter, of which the foregoing is a copy, substituting his name and that of the Grand Lodge, for the High Priest and the Grand Chapter.

EBEN'R. CLOUGH.

[The State Committee here present to the public, for their candid consideration, a brief summary of the allegations contained in the reply adopted by the Convention, to the Declaration of the twelve hundred Masons, leaving their fellow citizens to determine, whether, if these charges be *true* as we stand ready to substantiate them, in the form proposed to the Grand Chapter and Grand Lodge, they are not abundantly sufficient to condemn Freemasonry, and to require the active exertions of all good and patriotic men to rid our land of such an evil.]

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST FREEMASONRY.

THE Declaration, signed by about twelve hundred Freemasons, "of Boston and vicinity," denies, unequivocally, *all* the allegations against Freemasonry, and Freemasons, that have been made, during the last five years. Some of the most material of these allegations; which the State Committee are prepared to prove, are the following. We allege

1. That the kidnapping and consequent murder of William Morgan, was preconcerted in Lodges and Chapters, and carried on with their knowledge and co-operation, and that none but Freemasons, were concerned in that outrage.

2. That the only motive for this crime, was the disclosure of Masonic secrets, by Morgan.

3. That the penalty imposed for a violation of Masonic oaths is *death* and *death* only.

4. That the Masonic construction of Masonic penalties, is *death* for a violation of Masonic law; and that no ceremony, lecture, or injunction in Masonry, previous to 1827, explains away this plain literal construction, but that the whole tenor of all such authorities enforce it, in the strongest terms.

5. That the manner of the infliction of death, imposed by these penalties, in eight of the degrees, beginning with the first, is—cutting the throat and tearing out the tongue—tearing out the heart—severing, quartering and disembowelling the body, and burning to ashes—tearing the breast open, and throwing the heart on a dunghill to rot—smiting the skull off, and exposing the brains to the sun—pulling down the house of the offender, and hanging him on one of its timbers—striking the head off, and placing it on a lofty spire—tearing out the eyes, chopping off the hands, quartering the body, and throwing it among the rubbish of the Temple.

6. That Freemasonry, by the legitimate operation of her principles, and the literal construction of her oaths, has prevented the detection, indicting and conviction of kidnappers and murderers.

7. That Masonic jurors have refused to indict or to convict Masonic offenders, and that Masonic witnesses have refused to testify against them.

8. That in the contest of five years, between the legal tribunals of New York and Freemasonry, but two verdicts and three pleas of guilty have been obtained against the kidnappers and murderers, though well known; and the whole amount of punishment that has been inflicted for these outrages, committed by a large body of men, has been five years and five months imprisonment in county jails, distributed among five convicts!

9. That no “partial and inflammatory representation” of these offences, committed by Masons, has been made, beyond what the facts, as judicially established, fully warrant.

10. That these offences grew out of the legitimate construction and application of the oaths, principles, and engagements, of Freemasons.

11. That the five Masons sentenced for participation in the crime, eighteen indicted, and many others implicated, have ever remained in full fellowship with Lodges and Chapters, and that some of them have been since advanced to high Masonic honors.

12. That these convicts and kidnappers are held in full communion by Masons in Massachusetts, because the principles of Masonry, require all Lodges and Chapters to receive and

fellowship Masons, so long as they retain membership in any Lodge or Chapter.

13. That the perpetrators of the violence on Morgan, were not "*a few misguided men*," but were men comprising the most active occupations and professions, as respectable in the communities where they lived, as the twelve hundred signers of the Declaration are in this community.

14. That at least three hundred and fifty Masons were accessory to the outrage, or principals in the crime, and that it became known, Masonically, to at least five hundred more Masons, in New York, soon after it was committed, and as there is no doubt, to acting Masonic bodies generally, throughout the United States.

15. That Lodges and Chapters concealed the criminals, contributed money to protect them from justice, and to enable one of the actual murderers to escape from the country.

16. That forty-three of the most active criminals, whom we can name, were men of high respectability and standing, comprising officers of justice, and belonging to almost every occupation and trade, and to three of the learned professions, and that the murderers themselves were men of no mean consideration.

17. That Masonic principles, oaths and engagements, are, in every essential particular, the same in Massachusetts as in New York.

18. That a knowledge of the crimes of Masons in New York, by Massachusetts Masons, soon after those offences were committed, is fairly inferred from the introduction of a check test or oath here, from New York, established to exclude from the Lodges those who studied the disclosures made by Morgan.

19. That the Masons of Massachusetts, when called upon formally, in 1830, by the State Antimasonic Convention, to dis-fellowship the Masonic bodies in New York, which cherished the Morgan conspirators, declined to do so, or to deny, as a Masonic body, the truth of the disclosures against Freemasonry, or to renounce the system, or to disapprove the murder.

20. That Masonic newspapers, Masonic officers, and Masons of great respectability, embracing even Ministers of the gospel, in this State and in Rhode Island, have justified the murder of Morgan, and declared he had met his just deserts, for a violation of his Masonic oaths!

21. That in repeated instances Masonic oaths have proved to be stronger, and more binding on Masonic consciences, than civil oaths, in trials and examinations before judicial and legislative tribunals.

22. That Masonic oaths, as administered in New York and Massachusetts, impose solemnly upon those who take them, the following among other obnoxious and criminal obligations, viz.

1. To conceal and never reveal, except to a brother mason

of the same degree, any of the secrets of Freemasonry, under any circumstances.

2. To obey all Masonic signs and summonses, given by one Mason to another, or by a Masonic body.

3. To obey the grand hailing sign of distress, at the hazard of life.

4. To keep a brother Mason's secrets of every description, when communicated as such, murder and treason only excepted, and they left to the election of the Mason receiving such secrets; and that this specific exception of only two crimes which may be disclosed, plainly enjoins the concealment of all other crimes.

5. Not to violate the chastity of the female relatives of a Mason, *knowing* them to be such, but enjoining no such restraint towards other females.

6. To keep *all* secrets communicated by a Royal Arch Mason,—or all secrets without exception,—or murder and treason not excepted.

7. To assist a Royal Arch Mason, espouse his cause, and extricate him from difficulty, whether he be right or wrong.

8. To travel forty miles, barefoot, and on frozen ground, if required, to relieve the necessities of a worthy Knight Templar.

9. The drinking of wine out of a human skull, and imprecating the sins of the person whose skull that once was, upon the head of the candidate, as the Saviour bore the sins of the whole world, should the person who takes this oath, ever violate any of his Masonic oaths.

23. That the Master Mason's oath extends to the concealment of all crimes but *two*, and therefore, if an oath to conceal *all* secrets, murder and treason not excepted, be indefensible, an oath to conceal all other crimes but these two, is not less so.

24. That if adhering Masons can construe away their oaths which enjoin the concealment of each other's secrets, except, or including but two crimes, (murder and treason,) then, by the same process, they can construe away the injunction in the same oaths, to conceal any of the secrets of Freemasonry; and hence, that if an adhering Mason discloses such secret of a brother Mason, he is just as guilty of violating his oath, as the seceding Mason is who discloses all the secrets of the Craft.

25. That these facts prove Freemasonry to be "at variance with the fundamental principles of morality, and incompatible with the duty of a good and faithful citizen."

26. That the Declaration of the twelve hundred Masons, is not only false in its denials, but false in its assertions, because—

27. The candidate is *not* "made acquainted with the nature of the obligations he is required to assume,"—previous to taking his oaths, but he is required to promise to conform to the usages and customs of Freemasonry, without knowing

what they are, and, by the Massachusetts' book of constitutions, he is only permitted, before taking the oath, to see the charter and by-laws of the Lodge, and a list of its members, all of which contain no reference whatever, to the oaths and obligations he is required to assume.

28. Because, the intimation from the Master, that the oaths will not interfere with religion or politics, is a deception, and no explanation of their nature, because it is not a part of the oath, and because the terms of the oaths, if they are to have any meaning at all, do interfere directly with religion and politics, and are no where explained, by any equally binding and concurrent authority, to mean any thing different from their plain, literal import.

29. Because, if under such circumstances Masons who profess to regard their oaths as binding at all, can explain away the literal import of their Masonic oaths, they may, by the same reasoning, explain away the literal import of their civil oaths.

30. Because, obedience to the civil magistrate, and being true to the civil government, and just to the country, are not requisite to retain Masonic fellowship and membership of a Lodge, inasmuch as the book of Constitutions lays down the maxim, that though a brother be a rebel against the State, yet "*if convicted of no other crime, they cannot expel him from the Lodge, and his relation to it remains indefeasible.*"

31. Hence, that by Masonic law, and practice, *treason and murder*, are not offences which are deemed of sufficient magnitude, to authorize expulsion from the Lodge.

32. That it is not true that Freemasonry secures its members in the *freedom of speech*, because she fetters and hoodwinks them, and makes them swear to have their *throats cut*, and their *tongues torn out*, if they indulge in *freedom of speech*, touching any of the mysteries taught them by this pretended patron of freedom of speech; and because her books of constitution, monitors and orators, enjoin *silence and secrecy*; to be "*cautious in words,*" to *manage* a discourse, and to "*be voluntarily dumb,*" in order to avoid freedom of speech.

33. That these exclusive and selfish oaths, and the whole principles and practices of Freemasonry, do necessarily interfere with the dictates of conscience and the acts of Masons in matters of religion and politics, and disqualify men, under their influence, from conducting toward the rest of mankind, with the same impartiality, in the capacity of jurors, judges, officers or legislators, as can be exercised by men who acknowledge no other than civil, moral, and religious obligations.

34. That if Masonry does disdain the making of proselytes, *Masons*, nevertheless, have repeatedly urged men to join the Lodge.

35. That so far from admitting only those whose characters

"are unspotted by immorality and vice," one of the inducements held out in her books of highest authority, to become a Mason, is, that it will introduce you to the fellowship of corsairs, pirates, and marauders, who will treat you as a brother.

36. That she not only admits men of the vilest character, into her Lodges, but retains in full fellowship, the profligate, the abandoned, the worthless, the intemperate, the profane, and does not expel men guilty of kidnapping, murder, and treason!

37. That so far from being the handmaid of religion and virtue, she is the offspring of skepticism and vice—excluding revelation and the name of the Saviour, from her seven first degrees; admitting the Bible of the pagan and Mohammedan to a concurrent authority with the Bible of the Christian, as "Holy writings," and practising secret rites and ceremonies, tending to bring the resurrection and the miracles of revelation into contempt.

38. That the pretended "charitable uses" of her "accumulated funds" received "in sacred trust," is deceptive; because no person likely to require charity, is, by her constitutions, permitted to be initiated: because her system of charity is merely a scheme of mutual assurance, rarely, if ever, paying out in charity what is received in fees, and appropriating to parades and processions, idle ornaments and *gorgeous temples*, the very funds, pretended to have been received in sacred trust for charitable uses.

These are the allegations which make up the most material counts in the indictment of the people against Freemasonry and Freemasons, and on these the State Antimasonic Convention, through their Committee, tender a distinct issue to the Twelve hundred, or the Grand Fraternities in this State, in any form best adapted "*to establish truth and expose imposition.*"

(Signed,)

ABNER PHELPS,
JOHN D. WILLIAMS,
GEO. ODIORNE,
JON'A. FRENCH,
JACOB HALL,
BENJ. W. LAMB,
NATHAN ADAMS,
BENJ. V. FRENCH,
D. TILDEN,
BENJ'N. F. HALLETT,
HENRY GASSETT,
DANIEL WELD.

Boston, Sept. 24th, 1832.

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